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Teachers, Social Workers, and Ministers

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by Professor C. W. VALENTINE, M.A., D.Phil.

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Editor of the British Journal of Educational Psychology.

This is the Convocation Lecture, 1951, of the National Children's Home, and is a challenge to any who might too easily regard certain children as 'cases'. All children present problems at various stages of their development, and this Lecture seeks to show how many of these difficulties may be anticipated, understood, and often resolved, in the normal course of Child Care.

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Editorial Comments

PHILIP DODDRIDGE—POET, PREACHER AND PEDAGOGUE

THE DAUGHTER of Philip Doddridge once said of him: 'The orthodoxy my father taught his children was charity.' Many Dissenting ministers condemned the Methodists or looked askance at their enthusiasms, but he was an Evangelical as well as a Dissenter—as far removed from a rationalist as from a fanatical 'enthusiast'. As a young student he had a resolution in his New Testament to be 'agreeable and useful to all about . . . by a tender, compassionate and friendly behaviour'. As a mature tutor he was glad to co-operate with John Wesley and as a distinguished preacher he did not hesitate to invite George Whitefield to his pulpit, though he annoyed and estranged many of his friends by so doing.

His was a brave charity that faced opposition without flinching and overcame physical weakness with a song. He was one of a family of twenty, of whom eighteen died in childhood. At birth he appeared, at first, to be stillborn. At sixteen years of age he was tall and thin, with poor sight and symptoms of tuberculosis, so frail, indeed, that Edmund Calamy advised him to give up all idea of entering the ministry. When he was forty-nine he fled to Portugal, hoping that a milder climate might beat his lifelong enemy, but it was a forlorn hope. He died at Lisbon on 26th October 1751. Like Robert Louis Stevenson and Sidney Lanier, he packed into his few years the work of a full life-span. Like them, he sang through all the fighting.

And what songs they were! 'O happy day that fixed my choice, On Thee my Saviour and my God. . . .' The verses are so joyous that Dr F. L. Wiseman felt no ordinary tune could match them. (There was one memorable occasion when he linked them to the music of a merry peal of bells, and the great audience joined him in what was almost an ecstasy.) It was this hymn which was chosen by Queen Victoria to be sung at the Confirmation of her daughter—one of those rare occasions when she forgot her throne and remembered, with unrestrained joy, a supreme moment in Christian motherhood.

The more majestic lines in 'O God of Bethel, by whose hand Thy people still are fed' were a constant comfort to Livingstone in his loneliest African hours. Maybe there were dark stretches in the life of Philip Doddridge, which he hid from the world, and passed through in triumph, winning a spiritual victory over his physical infirmity and giving the world one more brave song.

Like Wesley and Fawcett, he had a habit of summarizing his sermon in the hymn which followed. This was announced, line by line, being sung a line at a time. Often a member of the congregation copied it down and it was re-copied many times and distributed. Preaching on 'Rejoicing in our Covenant Engagements with God', he followed his sermon with the hymn 'O happy day', which he had written for the occasion. Similarly, after a discourse on the Second Advent, he announced his hymn of joyful anticipation: 'Hark the glad sound, the Saviour comes.'

His courage was so cloaked with song that the severity of the struggle was disguised, and probably few of his congregation and of his more modern critics realized the good fight he fought.

As a preacher he was honest and forthright. There is a moving instance of his candour in a sermon he preached after the death of his first-born child. At the funeral someone had taken the text: 'Dost thou well to be angry for the gourd?' Afterwards, Doddridge, with breaking heart, wrote in his private diary: 'I hope God knows that I am not angry; but sorrowful He surely allows me to be.' In the sermon he preached he revealed his own anguish and, doubtless, helped to release similar repressions in the hearts of some of his congregation. It would have been, as he said, 'comparatively easy to speak in the outward language of resignation', but his problem was too pressing and its solution still only partial. His little daughter had meant so much to him—and she was gone! 'Formed in such a correspondence to my own relish and temper as to be able to give me a degree of delight, and consequently of distress, which I did not before think it possible I could have received from a little creature who had not quite completed her fifth year.' He did not hide the bitterness of his experience. 'It is not easy to get rid of every repining thought, and to forbear taking it, in some degree at least, unkindly, that the God whom we love and serve, in whose friendship we have long trusted and rejoiced, should act what, to sense, seems so unfriendly a part; that He should take away a child; and if a child, that child; and if that child, at that age; and if at that age, with this or that particular circumstance; which seems the very contrivance of providence to add double anguish to the wound. In these circumstances cheerfully to subscribe to His will, cordially to approve it as merciful and gracious. . . . This, this is a difficult lesson indeed; a triumph of Christian faith and love, which I fear many of us are yet to learn.'

Few men have preached so honest a sermon about death, and this kind of preaching was an excellent corrective to the unreality of contemporary homilies. Though the Nonconformist Academies gave elocution and homiletics a prominent place in the curriculum, the students had seldom the advantage of a tutor, who, like Doddridge, shared his deepest experiences with them. One young man wrote to his parents in November 1750 saying: 'I should be very glad if you would desire Mr Harding to let me have a few of his most orthodox sermons to go to repeat. . . . Sermons of the same kind are so very scarce that we can scarce light on a book to write a good sermon out of, but one or another has heard.' (!) One of the most interesting features in the Northampton Academy was the personal attention given by Doddridge to the sermon-making of his students. He encouraged them to preach in the surrounding villages and showed a deep concern for their progress. Though he had originally intended that the Academy should be for the training of the ministry, he readily agreed to admit laymen. It was he who was the first tutor to lecture in English instead of in the customary Latin. This was an immense advantage in many ways. It made for accuracy and life in the definition of theological terms, and it made it more possible to illustrate the lectures by direct reference to standard works in English. These lectures were first read by Doddridge to his students, and the manuscript was then handed over to be copied out by each of them. It was the same process through which his hymns passed before

they were eventually published, and the lectures had a temporary existence in 'an intermediate state' before they became standard text-books on their subjects.

One method he employed won him a considerable reputation as a critic of good literature, and led to his closer association with John Wesley. He was probably the first of the Dissenting tutors to establish a library available to all his students. It was his custom to lecture regularly on the contents of the more important books in the rapidly increasing collection. This was probably the reason which prompted Wesley to seek his advice when he was considering the publication of the Christian Library—a forerunner of the Everyman Library and similar modern series of good books for the people. When Doddridge responded willingly by sending a list of suggested books, he added an explanatory note: 'You will not by any means imagine that I intend to recommend the particular notions of all the writers I here mention; which may, indeed, sufficiently appear from their absolute contrariety to each other in a multitude of instances. But I think that, in order to defend the truth, it is very proper that a young minister should know the chief strength of error.' Though Wesley intended his 'library' for a much wider public than young ministers, the same principle held good, and his final selection must, on this score, have pleased Doddridge.

The students at Northampton were an unusually happy family and the relationship between their tutor and themselves was excellent. They were not imprisoned by stone walls or narrow credal boundaries. Greatly influenced by Moravian missionary zeal, Doddridge gave his men a vision of the world's needs, and his Academy was distinguished by the enthusiasm of its men for ministries overseas.

In his own century he was renowned for his *magnum opus*, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*. Suggested and planned by Watts, it was published in 1745 and soon translated into many languages. His commentaries were widely used for many years, and some of his hymns will endure, but it is his personality which attracts us in this bicentenary commemoration. He inherited some of the sturdy independence of one grandfather, a minister who suffered at the Ejection, and some of the courage and resilience of the other, a Bohemian exile, who eventually came to England as a schoolmaster. One sees him at Kibworth as a young student, pale-faced save for those occasional flushed cheeks warning him of a lurking enemy. He works ten hours a day, yet is gay and debonair, for all his serious study. He can write a lively letter and he can teach a crowd to sing. He is lovable because he is loving. Mysteries are revealed to him because he is a man of prayer who walks with God; he can interpret them to the common crowd because he is intensely human, sharing their joys and sorrows and knowing their speech. His was a short life, but he really lived!

The Lindsey Press has done good service by reprinting one of the lectures¹ from Alexander Gordon's *Addresses, Biographical and Historical*, originally delivered at Manchester College, Oxford, in 1895. It is an authoritative

¹ Philip Doddridge and the Catholicity of the Old Dissent. Alexander Home, M.A. Lindsey Press, 2s.

survey of *Philip Doddridge and the Catholicity of the Old Dissent*. Another excellent volume published for the Bicentenary is a symposium edited by Dr Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *Philip Doddridge: His Contribution to English Religion*.²

For those who are particularly interested in his educational work and subsequent influence on the Dissenting Academies, we recommend the standard history by Dr McLachlan—*English Education Under the Test Acts*.³ This contains not only a detailed and well-documented account of the Academies, but a comprehensive description of the lectures and text-books, many of which were directly or indirectly the work of Philip Doddridge.

HISTORY AND NEWS

THERE is a growing tendency to pass too quick a judgement on events of the moment—to treat newspaper reports as though they were stabilized records. It has been well said that History and News, necessary as they are to one another, have never pulled together, or been very fast friends. News belongs to the Present, which is a constantly moving line between the Past and the Future. History belongs to the Past and so can select and arrange, at leisure, gathering its material from what is static and unresisting. If a verdict must be passed on a recent 'yesterday' it is important to decide whether one is acting as an historian or a reporter. To attempt anything like a solemn and permanent assessment of current affairs is generally ridiculous, for such a judgement can be little more than an interim report. Politicians, scientists and theologians have been least impressive when they have expressed what should have been a tentative opinion as a final pronouncement. Whether this leads to unnecessary pessimism or unjustifiable optimism the effect is disastrous. News and views must be kept distinct from history and principles, if a healthy and balanced public opinion is to be created and sustained.

A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

ONE of the most noteworthy features of British journalism has been the Annual Summary published each year by *The Times*. They have attempted to produce 'a history immediately evolved from the news of the day' and so, in a yearly review have helped to present the happenings of twelve months in reasonable perspective. In this way they become an intermediary between News and History.

Recent pronouncements on subjects as far removed from one another as the Festival of Britain and the Threat of War have interesting parallels in the Summary for 1851, and a comparison is useful. 'The year 1851 has given us one vast and immeasurable gain in the Great Exhibition,' wrote the enthusiastic Victorian editor. 'All the nations of the civilized world have been represented—some very largely, and all very efficiently—in one fair temple of industry and peace. All have become wiser and better known . . . and in the minds of many nations and many millions has been left one soothing and instructive—one glorious and indelible impression. On all sides the seeds of knowledge and enterprise, cast on the waters of that peaceful confluence, are beginning to

² *Philip Doddridge: His Contribution to English Religion*. Dr Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Independent Press, 7s. 6d.

³ *English Education under the Test Acts*. H. McLachlan, M.A., D.D. Manchester University Press (1931), 12s. 6d.

bear fruit in new discoveries and undertakings. A vision of universal peace has been seen by the world, and, if its realization is still remote, its influence is not the less salutary and energetic. We are not among those who expect that the triumphs of peace are likely in our time to extinguish the passions of peoples and the ambitions of adventurers; but we nevertheless think we may dwell with satisfaction and hope on the memory of an event the direct and natural tendency of which is pacific and profitable. The more of such occasions the better. . . .

It is clear that the educational and inspirational value of the Great Exhibition was held to be more important than its value as an entertainment. Its influence would 'in time tell on the fortunes of humanity'. Britain had impressed her visitors by her hospitality, her organization, her far-reaching vision and 'even her taste'. Her fairness and generosity had been recognized. 'The victory has been as cheap as it has been bloodless,' said the writer. 'The whole cost of the Exhibition to the thousands of exhibitors and millions of visitors has not equalled that of one battle.'

Turning to the question of foreign relations the summary, in spite of its Victorianisms, had a notable passage: 'It can hardly be said that we stand quite as well with the rest of the world as we did a twelvemonth since, though there was not much to boast of even then. Perhaps England has no right to expect a very general amount of sympathy. Insulated in position, with a mixed political constitution, the asylum for refugees from all nations, showing her flag on every sea, and thrusting her manufactures into every market, unable to sympathize entirely with either monarchs against peoples or peoples against monarchs, she commands the respect, the fear, and even the admiration of mankind, but not their love or their free co-operation.'

Strangely enough, the following year provides another parallel to the present situation. After a moving tribute to the Duke of Wellington, 'the deliverer', the summary emphasizes the threat of the new French imperialism: 'Once more Peace seems to hang on the breath of a man who may consult necessity or passion by giving the fatal word that shall surround these isles and cover the ocean with war. From this year we are unfortunately compelled to date the restoration of our long-neglected defences, in the shape of a new Militia at home and a class of screw ships fit to cope with the giants recently launched from the ports of our nearest neighbour.'

How familiar it all sounds! Security! Rearmament! If new words like Home Guard, submarine and atom-bomb have had to be coined there is little new about the situation. One might well panic if one were content with News. Our grandfathers waited days for reports of local happenings, and weeks for accounts of world affairs. We hear broadcasts of events as they actually happen in the far places of the earth. This speeding-up of news has its value so long as we realize it is *news* we get more quickly and not history. In a famous Preface, Sir Walter Raleigh wrote: 'We may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other men's forepassed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings.'—The world's history is the world's judgement (*Die Weltgeschichte ist das Weltgericht*), said Schiller, and it is well to read one's evening paper, with that in mind.

LESLIE F. CHURCH

Articles

CATHOLIC-EVANGELICAL

I

FOR LONG, evangelical and catholic have been opposed terms, like Catholic and Protestant. This is equally true of England and Germany, though Protestant is oftener heard in Germany than in this country. But of late we have been growing accustomed, though slowly, to 'Evangelical-Catholic' or 'Catholic-Evangelical'. The recent report presented to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a group of Free Churchmen, and edited by Dr Newton Flew and Mr Rupert E. Davies, is entitled *The Catholicity of Protestantism*. It was in part a reply to a shorter publication, *Catholicity* (1947), by a group of theologians who would all claim to be catholic, though anxious to show that the differences between the parties did not cut so deep as some might imagine, and certainly not so deep as would be inferred from the essays in *The Apostolic Ministry*. A similar desire to find a place for both the Catholic and the Evangelical in Anglicanism is seen in *Problems of Reunion* by the Bishop of Derby (1950).

On the Continent, the opposition suggested by the two terms does not refer to Protestants and Anglicans, but to Rome. This is a much more serious matter; for, separated as Anglicans may be, by ecclesiastical, social, and political traditions, from Free Churchmen, yet, confronted by Rome, the Anglican is himself a Protestant. As Rome understands it, and as therefore it is thought of on the Continent, reunion means submission, complete and unconditional, as Anglicans found in the Malines conversations. Any modification of her canonical rules which Rome may contemplate, as in the instance of the Uniates in the Near East, will come, not from mutual agreement, but from her own grace and condescension. In this country, where a large minority—if it is a minority—in the Anglican Church is evangelical, the difficulties seem far less; there is no Papal supremacy for Protestants to reckon with, and no rule of clerical celibacy. But even here the practical difficulties grow more formidable as they are considered; and indeed there is something 'unrealistic' in the whole discussion. For the Anglican position is very dubious; only a few Anglicans seriously think of disestablishment as desirable; and without it the Church of England, even in so vital a matter as the appointment of her Bishops, cannot be mistress in her own house. Anglicanism, too, is many-voiced; the extremes are far wider apart in Anglicanism than among the leading Free Churches. More important, to most Anglo-Catholics, any step which made reunion with Rome even more difficult than it appears at present would be intolerable.

II

To the majority of Free Churchmen, and Anglican evangelicals, union with Rome is not a living issue. It is unthinkable that Rome should change, without ceasing to be Rome. But the relations to Rome of the Protestant or heretical

Churches (to use the word she prefers) concern us all. The Anglo-Catholics are perfectly right in holding that union between the Free Churches and the Anglican Church in this country, where Anglicans are in an imposing majority, or in the rest of the world, where they are in a distinct minority, would be but a small step toward the achievement of world-Christianity. This is hardly realized in England, where we are used to thinking of the Romans as taking their own way, and of ourselves as being regarded by them as beyond the pale, not fit to join with them even in repeating the words of the Lord's Prayer. Nor is it realized in Scandinavia, where Catholicism, either Roman or Anglican, is of little importance; nor in France, where Protestantism has been used to playing a very small part in the nation's religious life; nor in Spain and Italy, where it plays no part at all. In the United States, on the other hand, the Roman Church, a negligible sect at the time of the Revolution, is growing at a rate many feel to be alarming; it is looked on by most people as 'un-American' and alien. The positive fear which this growth can inspire may be seen in a large work by Paul Blanshard, *Freedom and Catholic Power*, published two years ago.

But in Germany, relations are very different. There, Lutherans and Reformed, whose differences count for less than their differences from smaller sects, like Methodists and Baptists, stand ranged against an almost equal number of Romanists, divided, not by comparatively mild social and political differences, as in England, but by geography, by history, and a whole intellectual outlook. Union among Protestant communities is not widely desired; but its absence could never be considered a scandal. The first approach to Rome, the only approach to Christian unity that would really count in Germany, has yet to be made.

It should be remembered that the questions are not of inter-communion or inter-celebration or interchange of pulpits—the questions which seem to most people here, save the Anglo-Catholics, perplexing or irritating. There are, religiously, two distinct Germanies. Neither of them has forgotten Luther's attacks on the Papacy, and its appendage of 'monkery', idolatry, indulgences, and ruthless persecution, as we have forgotten the dread and horror felt by our fathers. Only a few years ago we were wondering whether a common foe, a common terror, could unite the two communions, as we had wondered at the beginning of the first war whether a common faith in Socialism could prove superior to nationalist ambitions and fears. But if they seemed to draw together, it was only for the time; and the tendency has been rather for each party to make peace, or war, separately, now with the Nazis, now with the Kremlin. Hence, the ideal of the *Una Sancta*, a reunited Catholic and Protestant Church, was kept definitely before the assembly at Lausanne in 1927, when German Protestants were strongly represented; definitely enough to draw pathetic protest against the 'pan-protestantism' of its declarations from Bishop Gore. It was almost forgotten, save by a few academic theologians, at Edinburgh, in 1937, where the Scandinavians took the place of the absent Germans, and at Amsterdam, where the vision of a united Christianity was present, but where, at least in the minds of the many representatives of the younger Churches, with no long tradition behind them, Rome was unthought of.

III

What then are the prospects of Reconciliation? Is the *Una Sancta*, the Evangelical-Catholic, in its true and comprehensive sense, more than a name? It is noteworthy that the only serious advances made in recent years have come from Germany. Luther is still the great German. He is German in a deeper sense than either Goethe or Kant or Karl Marx or Bismarck or, happily, Hitler. His enemies cannot but take a kind of pride in him; he cannot be, as so often in England, neglected. In the last four years, some twenty books, of more or less importance, have appeared, to state, or re-state, one position or the other, with some more or less clearly expressed desire for the approach of which we have spoken. It may be worth while to select from them, for further attention, the work of Joseph Lortz, a Romanist scholar, who has held chairs of Church history or philosophy at Mainz and Münster, and is the author of a detailed work on the Reformation in Germany. The title of the book in my hands is *Die Reformation als religiöses Anliegen Heute*. *Anliegen* is a difficult word to translate into English. It means both 'concern' and 'contact'. The title might be expressed, though cumbrously, as *The Reformation: What does it matter for present-day Religion?* Lortz does not attempt the kind of statement, polemical though good-tempered, of the case against Protestantism which Dr Cadoux in his elaborate volume made against Rome. He gives us, rather, an irenicon, beginning and ending, with the new commandment of mutual love in the seventeenth chapter of St John. He does not plead that 'we are right, though in the minority', or 'since we are in the majority'. He longs and hopes for the removal of common misunderstandings. The book reproduces four lectures delivered before an audience containing both Catholics and Protestants, and every argument he uses has thus to commend itself to both classes of his hearers.

The first lecture deals with the Papacy before the Reformation. Luther was not the first to shake its authority. That had been accomplished by the Great Schism and the 'Babylonian exile' at Avignon. The imposing edifice reared by Thomas Aquinas was hard put to defend itself against the nominalism, influential but disintegrating, of the English William of Occam. Equally far-reaching were the effects of the pagan Renaissance, the 'amoralism' of the universally admired Erasmus, and the degradation of the Rome of the sixteenth century Popes, 'worshippers of Venus, then of Mars, and then of Pallas Athene'. Possibly the terrific denunciations of Dante are left unmentioned as occurring too early. But Catholics are forced, he urges, to recognize the '*Mitschuld*', the joint fault, of both parties for the rise of the Lutherans.

The second lecture is devoted to Luther, that '*homo religiosus*', whose first awakening was due to his Catholic director Staupitz. The author deplors his animosity, his pride, his coarseness, his 'adogmatism', his intolerance. If he had only learnt to substitute 'and' (faith and grace) for 'only' (by faith alone)! His affirmations he had learnt from the Catholics; it was his denials that drove him into his heresy of separation. Only 'half a hearer' of the Church, and of the Bible, for all his reverence for conscience, and, later, for orthodoxy, all he accomplished was based on a fatal misunderstanding of Catholic truth.

In the third lecture Lortz comes to the results of the Counter-Reformation,

which, in a sense, was due to the attack of the Reformation, as the Reformation was due to the sins of the Papacy. Here the author has an easy task in calling attention to the sweeping away of Papal scandals, the rise of the Jesuits, St Teresa, St Francis of Sales, Bossuet, and the Oratory of Divine Love; he forgets neither Michelangelo nor Pascal nor Cervantes; perhaps, he hints, Shakespeare was a Romanist! The Reformation was a German movement; the Counter-Reformation was the answer of Latin Europe. The last lecture sets side by side the essentials of the Reformation as the author understands them and of the Catholicism of today. In spite of the narrowness of the Reformation, there is much that Luther taught which Rome can accept. How otherwise, he asks, since Luther started as a Catholic? Modern Catholicism has given a new place to the laity (the author might have referred to recent well-known Catholic movements in France and Belgium, but he is thinking more of the canonization of Joan of Arc and Sir Thomas More), and the study of the Bible. The liturgy is emphasizing afresh elements of which the Protestants have rightly made much; and Catholicism is restoring the teaching office of the Church, the neglect of which has been, he thinks, disastrous for Protestantism. All that Protestants could need, or want, they have in the Catholic Church today. Surely, he claims, it should be possible to restore the unity of the Church which will 're-Christianize' the West and the world; the unity which was commanded, and promised, in the Upper Room.

IV

No reader can miss the attitude of frank self-criticism, or the friendliness of the gesture toward Protestantism. Anglicans, if they can bring themselves to accept their inclusion in these pages as Protestants, will welcome all this, while many Catholics will be startled at the recognition of so much as Catholic in the Lutheran heresy. But there are three aspects which cannot fail to impress the Protestant reader. Firstly, the author's one-sidedness—how severe he is to Luther's faults (though he does not mention the Peasants' War or the bigamous Philip of Hesse); and with what adroit rapidity he slides over the vices of the Papal court and the brutalities of the Inquisition. Nor is a word said about the development of Protestantism after the sixteenth century. Secondly, if Rome has always enjoyed the guidance and protection of Peter and his successors, whence all the crying need for reforms? And thirdly, nothing is said to modify the Roman claim to authority. There can be no possibility of 'come and let us reason together'. The only word is, as Mgr Knox plainly hinted in another fashion in his *Enthusiasm*—Within the Church is assurance; outside, confusion.

To the Protestant, the appeal of the book is, in fact: 'Return to the Church. It was natural for you to leave; our record is not untainted. We must all repent. But we want you, and you should want us. Come and find rest in what is your home as well as ours. And if conscience and your own judgement make you hesitate, surely an instructed conscience, with Matthew 18¹⁸ before it, will settle the matter.' We are not unaccustomed to similar approaches from Anglicans, as friendly and as eager for union as Dr Lortz. 'We have been guilty, as you have been (the Free Churchman is expected to understand and acknowledge the *as*); but not all our mistakes and your successes can alter

the fact that without the episcopal succession the Church rests on shifting sands.' Few Anglicans envisage what they are really asking from their brethren. But the change which their exhortations demand is as the passage from shade to sunshine on a summer's day compared to the *volte-face* demanded by Dr Lortz's Church. The whole landscape would be transformed. It is not, as he suggests, a matter of adding one truth to another: grace to faith, or the Roman obedience to obedience to Christ. The attempt to add the second to the first, as the evangelical knows well, is to destroy both. Individual conversions, in both directions, occur, especially among the loosely attached. They are not a matter of difficulty, even if the line between Rome and Protestantism is not crossed as often as the line between 'Church' and dissent. Readers of *The Road to Damascus* will remember with what ease a number of intellectuals, to whom religion had meant nothing but controverted statements, found their way to—shall we say?—the 'street called Straight' where controversy was to their relief silenced by authority; an authority which, in any other sphere than that of religion, they would all have derided. But there is no need to say more; for a denomination or a set of denominations, which is what Dr Lortz has in mind, the road he points to will never be travelled.

V

Is there then nothing but continued disobedience to the will of Christ for unity, on whatever shoulders the guilt for that disobedience must rest? Is His prayer 'that they may be one thing', as Father and Son are in each other, to be for ever unanswered? Or if some union is devised for those who in Roman eyes are all Protestants, are Protestants and Catholics to go on facing one another, as communists and 'peace-loving' nations face one another across the fields of politics? Is there no way of approach?

There is; but it is one which the actual leaders on both sides, with the best will in the world, seem least fitted to take, or even to descry. We may say, for what it is worth, as has often been said, that union is not the same thing as unity. And what it is worth is this: that our Lord (we may say it with reverence, but we must say it) was not at that supreme moment thinking of denominations or 'Churches' at all; still less of Popes and Bishops and 'Orders'. However we may interpret the passage in Matthew 16, where Peter is at one moment the rock and at the next the Adversary (what a foundation for the Church!), it is clear that in John 17 He is setting His thought on the unity of the circle of His disciples gathered round Him at the board, and bound together, in the golden chain of the new commandment, with the Father and with Himself. Their unity is actually, as He expresses it, the unity of the Father and the Son with one another. The language of Jesus, as every reader must observe, moves in a circle. The unity is one of love. Love is bound up with obedience to the new command; and that command is love to one another. Obedience explains love; love explains obedience. But we do not always remember what the disciples could not have forgotten, the 'neglected sacrament' of the foot-washing, and the Saviour's use of it. 'As I, so you.' His love was shown in His redeeming mission, and that was the love in which they were to continue. Do obedience and love explain one another? Of course, as everyone knows who has ever

clearly felt or deeply willed. Remove either, and the other falls to the ground.

Is it possible that the High-priestly prayer, to which Dr Lortz makes such touching reference, is really showing us the true path to the unity intended by the Saviour—a path where there are no barriers to block our approach to each other? It is natural that we, or at least our ecclesiastics and theologians, should hammer away at the barriers which exist. Their existence challenges all the learning and all the acumen of dignitaries and professors; so clear a case can be made out for either retaining or removing them. Alas, the confident Yes on the one side only rouses the more confident No on the other.

But when we turn to our Lord's command, we find that He is contemplating something that every one of us can do at once; something against which no ecclesiastical or canon law lies, however venerable, any more than against 'the fruits of the Spirit': 'Love one another'; 'in honour prefer one another'; let each seek the other's interests; forgive; no quarrels; no rivalry; mutual service; all for 'God's glory'. If our Lord ever definitely and explicitly spoke of the Church (though without using the term), it is surely in these 'Upper Room' chapters, where the disciples are to be joined together, like the organs or cells of one living body, in an active co-operant unity which nothing can interfere with, and nothing can break. It is the attitude that matters: obedience, consecration. Organizations and hierarchies may come later; they cannot replace that attitude, nor render it superfluous. We are all at one already in acknowledging its authority, Catholics and Evangelicals alike; and we need wait for no doctrinal barriers to be broken down in order to obey it.

A faint image of what it would mean we may find in the mass of voluntary service now being performed in our own society, of which we have been reminded in Rowntree and Lavers' *English Life and Leisure*, or in some recognition of élite souls like H. G. Wells's Samurai, the members of the 'open conspiracy'. If we can imagine such an ideal (R. H. Tawney once called it the professional as opposed to the commercial way of life) as set by Christianity before the lawyer, the merchant, the teacher, the mechanic, the craftsman—all of them fired by the love of Christ—'we love because He first loved us'—we can dimly see a unity transcending the unity accomplished by an outward rite, however solemn, just as the unity of the marriage of true minds transcends the solemnity of a marriage service. As John Wesley said: 'Although a difference in opinion or modes of worship may prevent an entire external union, yet need it prevent our union in affection? Though we cannot think alike, may we not love alike?'

VI

Some will doubtless object that this is to replace religion by 'mere morality'; to forget the magnificence of faith in the taskwork of conduct; perhaps, in doing so, appealing, like Barth, to Luther himself, with the quasi-Pauline contempt for 'works' which he and his followers so often expressed. Nor must we forget those exegetes, both Catholic and Evangelical, whose zeal for the eschatological and Messianic or sacramental interpretations of the Gospels has led them to deprecate the morality of the parables and to speak slightly of the Sermon on the Mount. But that is to assume an 'either—or' which is fatal not only to morals (which we cannot yet dispense with in human society), but to

the understanding of the mind and teaching of Christ. Faith must work by love, as love must work by faith—not *the* faith of some Augustan or Tridentine Confession; but the absolute surrender, risking everything, to One whose love is better than life. And what else was Jesus ever looking for?

We hear but little of this profound Johannine conception of unity in our discussions on union. Is it because we think it unimportant, or because we hope, as some Catholics hope about inter-communion, that it will be the last step in the consummation of union? It must come first. The only Union worth seeking is the union of Christians; and the only Christianity worth thinking about is the Christianity of the members of a community who show their loyalty, when they are putting Christ first, by putting everyone else before themselves. The world will not be saved, or impressed, by a great pan-Christian or pan-Catholic celebration; it will be saved by the love which streams in unmistakable conduct from Christ to his disciples, and from them to the world which He died to redeem. If the disciples had never been drawn to Christ by the lodestone of His love, they could never have held together; nor can their followers hope to do so now.

VII

But this is not the last word, as perhaps both Evangelicals and Catholics, though for different reasons, will agree. We have tried to do justice to Lortz's defence of Catholicism. It is only fair to turn to a challenging work on Protestantism, by one who has proved his power of theological leadership both in Germany and in America. Professor Paul Tillich published his *Protestant Era* last year. He gave the substance of much of it at the International Conference on Life and Work in Oxford just before the outbreak of war, in 1937. Lortz did not forget to refer to the fissions of Protestantism. But he gave us no history of the great movement, or the successive stages through which it has passed: dogmatism, pietism, rationalism, criticism, and what we may call Barthianism. Nor does Tillich. He does not so much omit them as sublimate them. The centre and the key of his book is his reference to the moment when he discovered that doubt means affirmation. This sounds like Descartes. It is really the word given to a greater teacher of religion: 'Thou wouldest not be seeking me unless thou hadst found me.' Doubt is intellectual; but it is a great deal more. There could be no problem of doubt, nor of evil, to an agnostic. Doubt, as Tillich expounds it, is dread, the *Angst* of Kierkegaard, the terror in which Claudio trembled before the mystery of death, and which Luther felt, as Lortz points out, before the deeper mystery and horror of his own sin. Is there no ground which I can find 'wherein sure my soul's anchor may remain'? I must find it, or I am lost. Doubt is thus not denial; it is desire. 'In every Protestant form the external element must be expressed in relation to a present situation. . . . And the given reality of grace must be expressed with daring and risk.' If this is Luther, it is also Paul, and Augustine, as it is Wesley.

It is not, however, the assertion of the right of private judgement, or of the privilege of setting oneself up against the Church. The discovery may be made through what we call the Church, whether the Church takes the shape of a parent, a spiritual director, a group of religious friends, the conception of a centuries-old tradition, or even an infallible and supreme Holy Father. The

Church in any one of these forms, some more familiar to Catholics, others to Protestants, may play a larger or smaller part in the venture; but this is immaterial. Behind the Church, however understood, is the Saviour. 'He put out His hand, and drew me out of many waters.' When once the Catholic and the Protestant can forget their disagreement over authority, and work back to their own experience, with Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas à Kempis and Gerhardt and Watts, they begin to speak the same language.

There is very much more in Tillich's three hundred pages than this. There is, for instance, his insistence on what he calls '*Kairos*', 'the right time, the moment rich in future and significance', and the 'Boundary situation', 'the ultimate threat confronting human existence'. But these, and other characteristic topics, are all of a piece. In the different aspects of his teaching, he is always going back to the Protestant *Geist* or spirit. And they lead the sympathetic reader back to the Augustinian *da quod jubes; jube quod vis*; or to Charles Wesley's ideal: 'Ready for all Thy perfect will.' Man is placed, as it were, on the razor edge. 'Protestantism lives wherever in the power of the New Being the boundary-situation is preached.' It is not Protestantism, he asserts; it is Christianity. It can live outside the Protestant Churches. It can be at home in Catholicism. Tillich is approaching, from his side, as Lortz is from his, the Catholic-Evangelical. He is conscious of the struggle in the depths of the soul to find peace; but that struggle was known by Catholics long before Protestantism was heard of. Lortz is thinking of the grace to which the individual is led through the great community of believing souls, speaking in the name of its Head; but Methodists are not the only evangelicals who know the sweetness and the alluring power of the 'fellowship in Jesus'.

The bearing of these considerations, offered from the one side or the other, on further discussions on reunion, whether Rome still stands aside or, should the Providence of God so ordain, decides to hold more than a watching brief, it is not for this article to elaborate. But it is not amiss to remember that in all discussions on faith and order, it is faith that must come first, the faith in the redeeming and risen Lord that moulds the life and inspires the work of each of His followers; the faith to whose enlightened sight no duty can seem too onerous and no command too exigent. Now, as Tillich would say, is the appointed *Kairos*. It is from Christ that there comes the gift of the Spirit which unites his disciples 'in mystic love and seals them one'. To receive that gift is to seek, and to find, the true unity with others who share it with us. And we shall then hope to find what forms of outward union, Catholic and Evangelical, the Lord has prepared for His Church. But how much nearer to union are we as yet?

WILLIAM F. LOFTHOUSE

THE CHRISTIAN FUTURE¹

(Continued from page 244, July 1951)

ADVANCE OF CHRISTIANITY SINCE 1914

FIRST, Christianity is more widely distributed numerically than at any previous time. Its chief strength is still in the Occident—in Europe and the Americas. Indeed, the percentage of the population of the United States who have a Church membership has increased by fully a fifth in the years since 1914 and is still mounting. In India and China, the two largest masses of non-Occidentals, the percentage of Christians, while small, has more than doubled in the same years. In Indonesia it has more than doubled and in Africa, south of the Sahara, it has multiplied four- or five-fold. The influence of Jesus is ceasing to be identified with one cultural strain of mankind, that of the Occident, and is becoming world-wide.

In the second place, in its leadership, Christianity is becoming rooted in almost every people. In 1914 the leadership of the Churches in the non-Occidental world was almost entirely in the hands of missionaries from the Occident. These Churches were very much like ecclesiastical colonial possessions of the founding Churches of the Occident. Indeed, members of the latter often spoke of the members of these daughter Churches as 'our Christians'. In the past three and a half decades that situation has been radically altered. Increasingly the leadership of these 'younger Churches' is indigenous. Much of it is not only devotedly Christian but is also extremely able. This is true of both Roman Catholics and Protestants. Roman Catholics have been stressing, and with marked success, recruiting and preparing an indigenous priesthood and have been raising an increasing number of these priests to the episcopate. They have even made one Chinese Bishop a member of the college of Cardinals. Even more have Protestants stressed an indigenous leadership. They have been somewhat behind Roman Catholics in evoking an indigenous body of clergy, but they have been more successful in creating lay leadership. Those who have attended the world gatherings of Protestants during the past few years have commented on the increasing place which non-Occidentals have had in these assemblies.

In the third place, Christianity is having a wider effect, particularly on non-Occidental peoples, than in 1914. This is strikingly the case in China and India. In China, Sun Yat-sen, a Christian, has had more influence on that people than any other of his countrymen of the century. In government, education, medicine, nursing, and social service, Christians have had a far larger place than was theirs in 1914. Through them Jesus Christ is more potent in China than he was a third of a century ago. In India the most influential individual of the century has been Gandhi. Although not a Christian, Gandhi gladly acknowledged his debt to Christ and through him Christ has been shaping India to a far greater degree than in 1914. Then, too, in the stirrings among the depressed classes and in various aspects of social reform, Christianity is having a larger place in India than at the outbreak of World War I. In Africa

¹ This article is from *The Coming-of-Age of Christianity*, edited by Sir James Marchant (Latimer House, 12s. 6d.).

the rising influence of Christ is seen in education, in medical care, and in the life of the family.

Moreover, along with the increase in the number of Christians, there is a growth in that most characteristic of the effects of Christ, the inward transformation and renewal of life. This does not mean that these results are striking or even present in all those who profess and call themselves Christians. They are not. They are, too, of the kind which defy accurate measurement. Yet it is clear that, among many who profess and call themselves Christians, these fruits are found and that the notable rise in Church membership is at least in part paralleled by improvement in the quality of living, by reaching toward the high calling of God in Christ.

It may seem that in the Occident, in what has been traditionally known as Christendom, the influence of Christ has waned. Certainly wide defections have been witnessed, some of them through active hostility, some through conscious scepticism, but more through indifference and absorption in secular interests or through the failure of the Church to keep pace with the shifts in population and the change from one generation to another. The two world wars of the past third of a century have also militated against the influence of Christ. As is always true of wars, they have made for cruelty, callousness to human suffering, hate, deterioration in sex relations, dishonesty, and disregard for the sanctity of persons.

Yet even in the Occident, at least in some aspects of its life, the influence of Christ has mounted. This is seen in the stimulus given to international organization. In an age when it is clear that the welfare, perhaps even the existence, of mankind depends on the achievement of some sort of supranational structure to ensure the peaceful settlement of disputes among nations, justice, and co-operation among the peoples of the world, the influence of Christ has made for that kind of structure. It was the chief contributing factor in the creation of the League of Nations, for it was the source of the ideals and the sustaining determination of the League's chief author, Woodrow Wilson. It had a large part, perhaps the major part, in bringing into being the United Nations. Christ, too, has been the source of efforts to relieve the sufferings caused by war, efforts which have attained proportions much greater than ever before known—in care for prisoners of war, for refugees, and for those stricken by hunger and disease. Much of this has been through agencies which are confessedly Christian. Even more has been through Governments, but having as its basis a Christian rootage.

In the fourth place, Christianity has made striking gains in the fashion in which Christians are coming together in a world-wide fellowship. Christians have never fulfilled the prayer of their Lord that they all might be one. Even in the first century they were divided. While the majority ultimately were embraced in the Catholic Church of the Roman Empire, beginning with the fourth century, rifts progressively appeared in that Church, and in the centuries between then and our own day divisions among Christians multiplied and a smaller and smaller proportion of Christians were to be found in any one Communion. This trend has now been reversed. In a day when the nations of the world have been pulling apart and tensions among them have multiplied, the Christians of the world have been coming together. In an hour

when the need for a world-wide fellowship among men is desperately needed and has been made possible by mechanical facilities of communication, Christians have been forming such a fellowship. They have been doing so in a great variety of ways, sometimes in non-ecclesiastical organizations such as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the World's Sunday-school Association, and the World's Student Christian Federation, and sometimes through the Churches themselves, as in the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. The process is by no means complete. It is in its early stages. Divisions still exist. Yet here is a trend of marked hopefulness, evidence of the advance of Christianity.

Does this history mean that Christianity will ultimately be universal and that all men and the entire life of mankind will be brought into full conformity to the ideal life as revealed by Christ? Much in the story gives encouragement to this view of the goal of history. If in the brief nineteen and a half centuries since his birth Jesus Christ has had such a growing influence upon mankind, we might expect that in the course of another ten or twenty-five or hundred thousand years, still brief as compared with the total span of human life on this planet, all mankind will become not only professedly Christian but actually attain to 'the fullness of the stature of Christ'. Even though that progress should continue to be, as in the past, by great pulsations of alternate advance and recession, the hope might still be maintained. It seems significant that each recession has been less profound and its duration briefer than its predecessor.

Certain stubborn facts, however, arise to temper this hope. For one thing, Christianity has never regained some of the ground which it once held and then lost. That is particularly true in its relation to Islam. As we have reminded ourselves, in the seventh and eighth centuries Islam tore away about half of what was then Christendom. It engaged in little open persecution of Christians. Yet the Christian Churches waned, rapidly or slowly. Numerically they continue to lose ground. The blows dealt to the Gregorian (Armenian) Church and to the remnants of the Nestorians during World War I are still fresh memories. Between the two wars and today the Copts in Egypt lost and continue to lose thousands each year. To be sure, centuries ago the Iberian Peninsula and Sicily were rewon and latterly a few hundred converts have been made in Iran, India, and Java. Yet these have been on the periphery. The real heart of Islam, the Arab world, has not really been touched. We need to recall, too, that in spite of the advances of the Church in South and East Asia in the past century and a half, Buddhism and Hinduism have been little affected. The numerical advances have been mainly among animistic or near-animistic peoples, such as the depressed classes and the hill tribes of India, the Karens of Burma, and the Bataks in Sumatra, or among elements of the population, as in China, whose traditional faiths have been disintegrating for other causes. To be sure, Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism are in decline, but this is for other causes than the impact of Christianity. Here and there Christianity has stimulated new movements in the great non-Christian religions, such as the Brahmo Samaj in Hinduism and Amadiya in Islam, but these have at best been syncretistic. They have not incorporated the essence of Christianity but, rather, have belonged more nearly to their parent stock. All the historic

religions except Christianity are waning more or less rapidly, partly from slow internal decay and partly from the impact of the Occident, but, except possibly in the case of Confucianism and Taoism, there is as yet no clear evidence that Christianity is to take their place.

Even more sobering is the fashion in which some of the chronic ills of mankind have attained their most colossal dimensions in the lands and among the peoples longest under Christian influence. Negro slavery is a striking example. Slavery is very old and widespread. Yet there has been no instance of the enslavement of so many millions of one race by another or of one group by another as of the Negroes by the professedly Christian whites. The two possible exceptions are the slavery of the Roman Empire and the depressed classes of India. The latter have been condemned by Hinduism to a status not far removed from slavery—and the totals of the depressed classes far exceed those of Negro slaves and the duration of the depressed status has been for many more centuries than the white enslavement of Negroes.

War is another outstanding instance. Some wars among peoples not under Christian influence have been more devastating than those waged within Christendom, but the wars of widest extent—those of the eighteenth, the early nineteenth, and the twentieth centuries—had their origin within Christendom. World War II is a partial exception, for it really began in the attack of Japan on China in Manchuria in September 1931, but its full fury broke in Europe eight years later and, whether in the East or the West, it was fought with weapons and techniques which came from the Occident.

We need to remind ourselves at once that from Christ issued the impulses which freed the world of Negro slavery and that from Him have come most of the movements for curbing and regulating war. In this, Christianity differs notably from other faiths. Hinduism has never abolished untouchability, nor has Hinduism, with all of its talk of *ahimsa*, or Buddhism, with its regard for all living beings, given rise to any such extensive movements to alleviate human suffering as has Christianity in the Red Cross or in the many other relief agencies of the Occident, or to such institutions for the peaceable adjustment of disputes among nations as the League of Nations and the United Nations. Even Gandhi, Hindu though he was, owed, as we have seen, an incalculable debt to Christ for his programme of non-violence. Yet the fact remains that Negro slavery and war attest to a strange feature of history, that these evils became most outstanding in Christendom.

Moreover, secularism and the other movements, such as Communism, which in our day are the gravest menace to the historic religions, including Christianity, had their rise in what we have traditionally called Christendom. Some of them, indeed, notably Communism, have in part sprung from Christianity and are perversions of it, much as, over a thousand years ago, in its origin Islam showed the influence of Christianity.

Moreover, we must again remind ourselves of what we said earlier, that Jesus seems to have believed that God's will would not be accomplished perfectly within history, that both wheat and tares grow together until the harvest, and that the brief span of the life of individuals in this flesh is too brief to attain fully to the high ideals which He set forth.

Although the facts of human experience and the New Testament preclude

the possibility of all men or of human society reaching their full potentialities by successive stages within history, they by no means deny the reality of progress. The well-known data provided by archæology demonstrate a kind of progress. This must be obvious to anyone who stands before the cases in the British Museum which show in brief compass the development of man's tools on this island from pre-glacial times into the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods. Man has certainly improved in his utilization of his physical environment. That advance has been greatly accelerated in the past ten or fifteen thousand years and especially in the past century and a half. The gains of the past four or five generations have been mainly within Christendom and presumably have been at least partly due to Christ.

These advances in man's knowledge and mastery of his physical environment are not necessarily true progress. They may be, in fact often have been, directed toward the injury of man. From them have arisen the tragedy of the slums of our industrial and commercial cities and the drabness and degradation of our mining areas. From them, too, has come the accentuation of the widespread destruction of war. It is from them that the atomic bomb is derived with its threat to civilization.

True progress must, rather, be toward the goal of what God had in mind in His creation of man, the goal that He revealed completely in the life and teachings of Jesus. This kind of progress is more difficult, both to achieve and to measure. Yet even here advance has been registered. The summary in the earlier pages of this essay gives some hint of what a detailed study would show.

This kind of progress we may confidently expect to see continued. The course of the past nineteen and a half centuries appears to promise it. Presumably it will continue to be by great pulsations. We may yet see a recession greater than any thus far known, the kind of recession which large-scale atomic war could bring. Even from such a recession we could expect recovery. The fact that Christianity is now world-wide, that in all but two or three lands active Christian communities exist, gives assurance that if a vast cataclysm of man's own creation were to engulf the main centres of civilization and Christendom itself, from some one or more of these communities, perhaps ones which now seem the least likely, a new surge of the Christian tide would come. For precedent we have the fashion in which, after the collapse of the Roman Empire, the main stream of Christianity eventually flowed first through and from the western part of what had been that empire and where the disintegration of civilization had been much more marked than in the eastern part, and later flowed from the former barbarian peoples of western Europe, who at the outset, until quickened and reshaped by the Gospel, were most unpromising material.

What is the goal of the progress that can be expected on this planet? If the full attainment of God's purpose for man cannot be realized within history, but if, from the scroll of history as it has so far been unrolled, progress toward that goal can be anticipated, to what can we look forward within history? Here obviously we can at most foresee the future only in the most general terms. The time scale quite eludes us. We cannot hope to predict how many thousands or tens of thousands of years the human race will go on. We do not know whether all life on the earth will be brought to an end. If the human race persists on the

globe for a million or more years we cannot know what the future will see of the fall and rise of civilizations.

The course of Christianity thus far gives ground for confidence that, if mankind goes on indefinitely, the influence of Christ will continue to spread. The dream of the ancient prophet may well be fulfilled that 'the knowledge of God shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea'. This would mean that all men would in time become professed Christians. To some degree they would be affected by Christ. Their professed standards of conduct would be His. They would ostensibly place in Him their hope for salvation. Just as in western Europe from the twelfth to the twentieth century the overwhelming majority called themselves Christians and had some slight knowledge of the Gospel, so the time may come when all men everywhere will have the name of Christian.

If all mankind were to become professedly Christian, what would be the fate of the other religions? As organized systems they would, of course, disappear, as did the pre-Christian religions of the Roman Empire (except for the continuing Jewish minorities) and as did the pagan cults of western Europe. But would they leave their mark upon Christianity? Would the resulting religion bear the name of Christ but in reality be a synthesis of the Gospel with the attitudes of the rivals which the Gospel had supplanted?

Here history may yield light. Some forms of Christianity have incorporated so many elements from other faiths that they have lost the essence of the Gospel. When this has happened they have disappeared. This was true of the Ebionites, those Christians who sought to combine faith in Christ with full conformity with Jewish law and tradition. It was also the case with the wide variety of Gnostic groups. For a time they may have comprised the majority of Christians. But they so did violence to Christ in fitting Him into prevailing cosmologies and intellectual and religious patterns that they in turn died out.

To be sure, some forms of Christianity which have continued and still show vigour bear the impress of the environments in which they were shaped. Indeed, every variety of Christianity is the joint product of the Gospel and a particular setting. Thus the Roman Catholic Church carries some of the features of the Roman Empire. Its centre of administration is in Rome; its main ecclesiastical language is Latin; its emphasis is upon law; its sobriety and its dream of visible empire under a centralized and orderly administration are Roman. The orthodox Churches bear indelibly the impress of the Greek and Byzantine *milieu* in which their tradition was shaped. The Church of England is clearly English. The several Protestant confessions reflect the social, racial, and historic environments in which they came into being. Christian mysticism has a neo-Platonic background. Much of Christian theology is in thought forms taken over from Greek philosophy. Yet as the environment in which they are set passes, these kinds of Christianity will also wane and eventually disappear. The length of their life will depend upon the persistence of their environment and upon their loyalty to Christ and the heart of the Gospel.

The enduring form or forms of Christianity will not be compromises of the essence of Christianity with the core of the non-Christian faiths. Basically the faith which has Christ as its centre differs so drastically from the other religions that any attempt to combine it with them would so denature them all as to deny any continuing vitality to the product.

For instance, a basic conviction of Buddhism is that life is not worth living. As the Buddhists conceive it, salvation consists in being rid of this entity called 'I'. Physical death will not help, for the Buddhists took over from the prevailing Indian religion out of which they issued, the belief in the transmigration of souls—metempsychosis. Since to die is simply to be born into another stage of existence and since life and suffering are inseparable, salvation comes only through entrance into Nirvana. In Nirvana the 'I' ceases. Desire, which binds the self together, is extinguished. Nirvana is like the blowing-out of the flame of a candle. In contrast the Gospel states that salvation is eternal life. It contrasts life with death and declares that life eternal is to know God and Jesus Christ whom He has sent. To be sure, there is a superficial resemblance to Buddhism, for Jesus said that he who saves his life loses it and that he who loses his life for Christ's sake and the Gospel's saves it—that the way to life is through denying oneself. Yet the goals of the two faiths are at opposite poles. The one has as its end the erasure of being; the other has as its ideal the enhancement of being through birth into a new, abounding, everlasting life. The original Buddhism knew of no eternal God and man's salvation was to be entirely through the effort of each individual. The Buddha accepted the current belief in the existence of gods, but gods, like men, so he held, are subject to rebirth and, bound to the cycle of existence and suffering, also need to be saved. In contrast, the Christian faith is that God is from everlasting to everlasting, the creator and sustainer of the universe, and that salvation is His gift, wrought by Him for man in Christ. Some schools of later Buddhism, departing from early Buddhism, introduced the idea of vicarious suffering and salvation by faith and future heavens and hells, but they could not entirely escape the original postulates of their religion.

Hinduism is multiform, but it is predominantly pantheistic. God is everything and everything is God. Of God—or the absolute—only negatives can be used: He is not this or not that. Salvation for the individual soul is absorption into the Absolute. To the Christian, God is not identical with the universe, but is both immanent and transcendent. Always, moreover, there are to be the 'I' and the 'Thou'. 'The chief end of man is to glorify God and to enjoy him for ever.' The Hindu can conceive of many incarnations of the Absolute, but to him the Christian claim that the only incarnation is that of Christ is abhorrent. To the Hindu there is no final or unique way, but many roads to truth. He cannot believe that anyone can rightly say: 'I am *the way, the truth, and the life*. No man cometh unto the Father but by me.' No reconciliation between the two views is possible.

Confucianism is humanistic. It tends to think of religion, if it thinks of it at all, as man's search for God and as of man's creation. While its attitude toward theism has varied from age to age, in general and logically it inclines toward agnosticism, for man by his unaided searching cannot find God. Christianity, in striking contrast, speaks of the divine initiative. 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son.' 'Herein is love, not that we loved God but that he loved us and gave his son to be the propitiation for our sins.' 'No man hath seen God at any time. The only begotten son, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him.' Here, too, the assumptions and convictions are so different that synthesis is out of the question.

Judaism, like Christianity, believes in God, and Christians rightly regard the revelation recorded in the Old Testament as preparation for Christ and, when really understood, as pointing to Him. Yet Jesus declared to Nicodemus, a 'ruler of the Jews', and obviously a strict and consistent representative of Judaism, that unless a man—clearly including Nicodemus—were born again he could not either see or enter the kingdom of God. St Paul frankly declared that to the Jew the Cross was a stumbling block. From the standpoint of Judaism, Christ and the Gospel are revolutionary. Were the Jew to acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah, he would not necessarily thereby have become a Christian, for Jesus so altered the content of the Messiah as the Jew had conceived it, as to make of it something quite new. Christ is the fulfilment of Judaism, but He so enriches and transforms the heritage from the past as to make Christianity unique. Christianity is not just a variant or a sect of Judaism. It is a fresh creation.

Islam teaches belief in one God, righteous, merciful, all-powerful. It gladly admits that Jesus is one of the prophets and teachers of mankind. But the Koran declares explicitly that God cannot have a son. In saying this, it may have thought of physical generation and have had a mistaken and crass conception of what is meant by the Incarnation. But there is a deeper gulf than this between Islam and the Gospel. Islam agrees with Christianity in recognizing the gulf between God and man. However, Islam contends that the gulf has not and cannot be bridged, whereas it is of the essence of the Gospel that in Jesus Christ the gulf has been bridged. Athanasius put it bluntly and in extreme form when he declared that God became man that man might become God.

In view of these sharp contrasts between Christ and His historic and present major rivals in the great religions of mankind, it must be clear that no synthesis can be devised which would not denature either Christianity or the other faiths, or both. Even could the impossible be accomplished and a vital syncretism be effected between Christianity and one of the other faiths, the differences among the non-Christian religions are so great that they could not be composed without emasculating one or another or all of these systems. This fact is seen strikingly and tragically in the relations of Islam and Hinduism in India. We do well to recall and contemplate the failure of Akbar to devise a composite religion which would embrace the various religions of the India of his day. A combination of the religions of the world which would be viable is impossible.

So, too, it is with what we speak of as philosophy. Philosophy is essentially man's search for an understanding of his environment which will yield a comprehension of the universe. The Gospel is something given. It is God's act in Christ, not the product of man's seeking. The philosopher may take this act of God as part of his data. Indeed, so the Christian believes, in Christ is the clue to the meaning of the universe and especially of man. Many Christians have combined a particular philosophy with their faith. There have been numbers of 'Christian Platonists', and both Aristotle and the Stoics have left their impress upon notable formulations of the Christian faith. Yet any attempt to give a philosophical interpretation of Christianity which does not make Christ primary, emasculates the Gospel. The question may well be raised whether the many efforts to rethink the Gospel in terms of one or another of the philosophical systems of the Greeks has not done violence to it.

Today other active rivals of Christ are claiming the allegiance of men. Some of these are not carefully formulated but are attitudes rather than systems of thought. Such a one is secularism. For many, the scientific approach has seemed to make Jesus Christ irrelevant and faith in Him untenable. At present the most aggressive opponent is Communism, which dubs all religion, including Christianity, the opiate of the people. Secularism and Christianity are clearly incompatible, for the former speaks of the 'standard of living' purely in terms of food, clothing, shelter, and æsthetics. While promising that 'all these things shall be added', Jesus commands: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God.' Science can neither verify nor disprove the revelation of God in Christ, but it is not necessarily inconsistent with it. Many eminent scientists have been and are convinced Christians. Yet if violence is not to be done to one or the other we must frankly recognize that the two—Christianity and science—move in different although related spheres. Many are saying that Communism is seeking to do for men what Christianity, if it were true to Jesus, would be doing and doing better. It has an apocalypticism and an eschatology which seem in part to be of Jewish-Christian origin. The influence of Hegel upon Marx is well known, and Hegel regarded himself as a Christian. Yet much that is basic in Communism is clearly incompatible with Jesus—its ruthless disregard of individuals and the value of each individual soul, and its denial of God and of immortality. Christianity cannot be true to Jesus and make its peace with any of these opponents by granting in full their basic postulates.

Yet, when all these contradictions between Jesus Christ and His traditional and recent competitors have been pointed out, we must hasten to say two things.

First, frank recognition of the differences between Christ and His rivals does not necessarily preclude kindly relations between Christians and non-Christians. Here and there intimate friendships are possible. To be sure, the lack of agreement on the basic convictions which undergird life and faith hamper and usually render impossible that full sympathy and community of spirit which are of the essence of the richest friendship. Yet again and again Christians have found enough in common with non-Christians to make for deep and abiding affection.

Second, contact with other faiths and ideologies can serve as a corrective and can lead to the incorporation in Christianity of emphases made by these faiths which are inherent in Jesus but which Christians in their blindness have not discerned, or, if they have recognized them, have neglected. Thus the compassion of the best Buddhists for all living creatures reminds one of Him who declared that not a sparrow falls to the ground without our Father and that God cares for and feeds the birds, and—a broader conception than the Buddhist—clothes the lilies of the field. The Buddhist and the Hindu sense of the impermanence of all things can serve as a corrective to professed Christians who forget that Jesus declared that a man's life 'consisteth not in the abundance of the things that he possesseth'. While the Christian cannot agree with the Hindu that this phenomenal world is an illusion but because of the Incarnation holds to the sacramental view of the physical universe, he needs to be reminded that his faith teaches him that 'the things which are seen are temporal, and the things which are not seen are eternal'. Already some Christians have found in

the Hindu device of the *ashram* a method of fellowship and worship that has enriched aspects of life which were stressed by Jesus but which the modern Occidental Christian, harried and driven by the complexity of his existence, too often ignores. So, to, in the 'beautiful names' of God which he has from the Moslem the Christian finds nothing that he cannot learn from Christ, but is refreshed by the emphasis and phrasing of another religious tradition. The Confucian concern for an ideal human society and the courtesy and loyalty of Confucianism at its best rebuke Christians for their failure to exemplify these facets of the Gospel of Christ. The concern of many secularists for the beautiful and the zeal of many non-theistic humanists for the physical and mental well-being of their fellows can be a stimulus to Christians to recall the delight of Jesus in the sunshine, the rain, the birds, and the flowers, and His deep concern that all men, including the ill and the underprivileged, shall have wholeness of physical as well as spiritual life. The passion of many Communists for those who have been ground down in the economic struggle and their conviction that the universe is on the side of the poor and that a classless co-operative society can be created, can rebuke and nerve Christians who through selfishness, lethargy, or unchristian cynicism and pessimism have forgotten that the Gospel is for the poor and that in Christ there is no difference between bond and free, Jew and Gentle, Greek and barbarian.

Jesus declared that He did not come to destroy the Jewish law but to fulfil it. As the Incarnate Word which 'lighteth every man', in Him is the fulfilment of the highest and the best which God has planted in the hearts of men and in the religions and ideologies which men have developed. Christ is the crown of man's striving. When He triumphs, whether within history or beyond it, all the noble hopes and strivings that the Spirit of God has implanted in men's hearts will find completion.

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE

JOHN BIRCHENSHA, FIFTH MONARCHY MAN

ON THURSDAY 10th January in the year 1661, Samuel Pepys entered in his *Diary* the latest news of Venner's rebellion, which had taken place on the previous Sunday:

These Fanatiques that have routed all the trainbands that they met with, put the King's life-guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the city gates twice; and all this in the day-time when all the City was in armes—are not in all above 31. Whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the City, and had been in Highgate two or three days, and in several other places) to be at least 500. A thing that was never heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief. Their word was, 'The King Jesus, and their heads upon the gates'.¹ Few of them would receive any quarter, but such as

¹ Is this a confusion of the words of Psalm 24⁷, 'Lift up your heads O ye gates? The mistaken reference might be encouraged by the fact that among the regicides whose heads were at this very time displayed about the city, some had been Fifth Monarchy sympathizers. Pepys had seen Major-General Harrison's head a few nights before.

were taken by force and kept alive; expecting Jesus to come here and reign in the world presently, and will not yet believe. The King this day come to town.

Then on 19th January:

To the Comptroller's, and with him by coach to Whitehall; in our way meeting Venner and Pritchard on a sledge who with two more Fifth Monarchy men were hanged today, and the two first drawn and quartered. Went to the theatre. . . .

And two days later:

This day many more of the Fifth Monarchy men were hanged.

Then he has finished with the followers of this fanatical movement. . . . But has he?

Exactly one year afterwards, in January 1662, Pepys engaged a music-master, one John Berkenshaw,² and enjoyed his tuition for five weeks. He had set himself to compose a tune to a sentimental poem, 'Gaze not on swans', and needed the help of the expert. For this he paid him five pounds, 'which is a great deal of money, and troubled me to part with it' (24th February). Three days later he told the fellow something of his mind, and he

in a pet flung out of my chamber, and I never stopped him . . . because I think I have all the rules that he hath to give.

Pepys is referring to a mathematical guide to the would-be composer, which Berkenshaw had worked out and already shown to him. Pepys was himself a good mathematician when it came to saving five-pound fees, so he memorized the chart and let its owner go.

Two years later, in 1664, this same music-master introduces us to one whom he himself calls master in this mathematical approach to music. He publishes his English translation of *Templum Musicum*, by Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588-1638), Professor of Philosophy at Herborn in the Duchy of Nassau. To this small book of 93 pages he gives the following sub-title to indicate its contents:

The musical synopsis of the learned and famous Johannes Henricus Alstedius, being a compendium of the rudiments both of the mathematical and practical part of musick.

He adds this pretentious description of himself:

Faithfully translated out of Latin by John Birchensha, Philomath.

It is of interest to see that the book is dedicated to 'Edward Lord Montague, Earl of Sandwich'. He may have fallen out with Pepys, but wishes to keep in with Pepys's powerful patron.

In the official *Burial Register of Westminster Abbey*, an entry under 'Burials in the Cloister' gives 'John Birchenshaw, May 14 1681'. There is an unofficial

² It will be noticed that the name, which means 'Birch wood', occurs with a bewildering variety of spelling. I chose 'Birchensha' for the title since that is how it appears on the title-page of his own writings.

register also, which gives 'John Birchinslaw bu. in ye west cloyster'. A note is appended by Colonel Chester who edited the *Registers* in 1875:

One John Birchensha (*sic*) published in 1655 a quarto volume entitled *Divine Verities*. Another John Birkensha (*sic*) was a musician and teacher of the viol in London, and published in 1664 a work called *Templum Musicum*; he was living as late as 1672.³

It was the book *Divine Verities*,⁴ here mentioned, which awakened my interest in John Birchensha. I picked it up for a few pence, and read it merely because it was curious and old. I soon found that Birchensha was a Fifth Monarchy man, and this pious volume, fuel such as may well have fed the flames of Venner's Rebellion. Colonel Chester, and, we may add, the *Dictionary of National Biography*, assume two John Birchenshas because the religious and the musical work seem so far apart.⁵ Anyone who has recognized *Divine Verities* for what it is may be the more persuaded: How distant are Samuel Pepys and his viol from the madness of Venner's Rebellion in the previous year! Yet there is one name which brings these two together. After the 'Epistle' with which he begins *Divine Verities*, the author gives a short bibliography:

If any be desirous to read the Authors who doe write of those things which are contained in this *History*, let them seriously peruse

The Holy Scriptures: Alstedius's *Chronologie* . . .

Second only to the Bible comes the same Johann Heinrich Alsted. For Alsted, whose approach to music was through mathematics, was consistent in this. His contribution in religious writing was again (to use a phrase of Birchensha's),⁶ 'mysterious numbers'. He was a fervent Second Adventist and Millenarian, and the chief interest of his *Chronologie* is calculation as to when the Lord shall come. It is hard to imagine that chance has played such a trick upon us as to bring two men with the same unusual name contemporarily to London, to write on different subjects but both looking to the one authority. Unless shown to be otherwise impossible, the more natural conclusion is that the two interests, the mathematical side of music and Millenarianism—which may be called a mathematical vagary of religion—both represented in the German Alsted, are also found together in the one John Birchensha. In that case, Pepys's music-master has at least this to connect him with the rebellion of January 1661—his *Divine Verities* works out that 1661 shall be the year of the coming of the Lord to reign.

Our own days witness a revived interest in Adventism, and such has been the case in many troubled periods before our own. The Civil War of 1642 brought

³ For these particulars I am indebted to Mr Lawrence E. Tanner, M.V.O., F.S.A., Keeper of the Muniments and Library, Westminster Abbey. Colonel Chester's note appears in *Publications of the Harleian Society*, Vol. X.

⁴ *The Eagle Prophecy* (1656), is a further millenarian work of Birchensha's, based on 2 Esdras 11 and 12. In *Divine Verities* he promised more if his first book was welcomed by its readers. Evidently it was.

⁵ *D.N.B.* deals very fully with what is known of the musician and his work, without relating this to the Fifth Monarchy man at all. The *British Museum Catalogue* lists together religious and musical works. However, it misdescribes *Divine Verities* as to contents, so we cannot assume that the compilers had reached a critical conclusion as to authorship.

⁶ In a verse of his on the title page of *Templum Musicum*.

some to despondency and a looking for the signs of the end, and others to exultation and a sense that the signs were already here and they themselves had a part to play. Many who scanned the Scriptures with this new interest seem to have taken Alsted as their guide; for events on the Continent a generation earlier had brought men to this mind. 'All the wars that are on foot in Europe', wrote Gustavus Adolphus in 1628, 'have been fused together and become a single war.' Not only fanatics but most ordinarily devout Protestants were ready to interpret these events in terms of Apocalypse. The struggle was between Christ and Anti-Christ. Men were approaching the climax of history.

One writer⁷ of the year 1642 hails Alsted as

the champion of the late [i.e. recent] Millenarians, and a main prop of this new revised Doctrine.

Alsted's chief work of this kind was *Thesaurus Chronologicus*, referred to by Birchensha as his *Chronologie*. Another, expounding the same theories in briefer compass, was *De Mille Annis Apocalypticis*, and this was translated into English by William Burton in 1643, under the titles *The Beloved City, or the Saints' Reign on Earth a Thousand Years*.

Alsted regards the world at the time of Christ as something less than 4,000 years old. The era after Christ he divides into four periods:

- (1) The Church of Judaea, from John the Baptist (in the year of the world 3948) to the Council of Jerusalem, A.D. 50.
- (2) The Church spread over the whole world, from A.D. 50 to 1694. This period has four subdivisions:
 - (i) Under heathen Emperors - A.D. 50 to 323;
 - (ii) under Christian Emperors - A.D. 323 to 606;
 - (iii) under Popes of Rome - A.D. 606 to 1517;
 - (iv) decline of the Papacy - A.D. 1517 to 1694.
- (3) The Millennium, from 1694 to 2694.
- (4) From the end of the Millennium (2694) to the Last Judgement.

Central in importance is the date of the Second Advent. To fix this Alsted takes Daniel 12¹¹⁻¹²:

From the time that the daily sacrifice shall be taken away, and the abomination that maketh desolate set up, there shall be a thousand two hundred and ninety days. Blessed is he that waiteth and cometh to the thousand three hundred and five and thirty days.

This he explains as referring to the end of worship in the Temple at Jerusalem, A.D. 69. To 69 he adds 1,290 and 1,335, explaining that prophetic days are actual years, which gives the total 2,694, and this he says is the end of the Millennium. The year 1694 is thus the year for which to wait.

This calculation was, compared with those of most Millenarians, surprisingly disinterested, because the date lay beyond any reasonable expectation of Alsted's being a participant here on earth. Even his readers in England in the 1640s must have felt that to look forward half a century yet, was too much. Besides, the Thirty Years War on the Continent had proved indecisive; whereas

⁷ Of a Latin treatise called *Nuncius Propheticus*.

in the later struggle here in Britain, there were signs of the Saints actually coming to reign. It was thus inevitable that other reckonings should be put forth, with events in Britain more determinative in fixing them. John Birchensha's work of 1655 belongs to such a background, England under the Commonwealth.

Birchensha's Old Testament chronology agrees with that of Alsted up to the Flood, put by both in the year of the world 1656. Some Fifth Monarchy men (though not Birchensha) saw great significance in this, 'because it must be as in the days of Noah', and so they expected the Second Advent in A.D. 1656.⁹ From the call of Abraham onward, Birchensha's dates are later than Alsted's by about sixty years. He expounds Daniel 7¹⁻¹¹ to explain the term 'Fifth Monarchy':

Now, in the world there were four great *Monarchies*: the first was the *Assyrian*, the second the *Persian*, the third the *Grecian*, and the fourth the *Roman* Monarchy, which doth continue unto this day; whose head is the Pope of *Rome*, unto whom (as being the *chiefe* in power) the aforesaid names are given.

The names are Anti-Christ, Beast, Dragon, False Prophet, and so on. The Fifth Monarchy will be the Millennial Rule of Christ at His Second Coming.⁹

To make his reckoning, Birchensha claims 'three dates of Times mentioned in the Scriptures'.¹⁰ Clearly the first is the determinative one, Daniel 8¹³⁻¹⁴, 'Unto two thousand and three hundred evenings and mornings; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.' This is to be counted from the Babylonian Captivity, which he places at 599 B.C. Thus he arrives at A.D. 1701 as the date of the Jews' return. But Micah 7¹⁵ says that this will need a time 'as in the days of thy coming forth out of the land of Egypt', i.e. forty years. This means that our Lord's Advent will have taken place in 1661.

The second 'date of Time' concerns the Seven Seals, Trumpets, and Vials, of the Book of Revelation. He writes: 'I take the trumpets to be contemporary with the seals, and the vials with both'. The first of these periods begins with the opening of our Lord's ministry, A.D. 29, and the sixth will end with His Coming, A.D. 1661. So between lie 1,632 years, conveniently divisible into the required six periods of 272 years each. This arbitrary division Birchensha proceeds to make, without even trying to point to the significance in history of any of the dates arrived at. Perhaps it was beyond him. The all-important year, in any case, was 1661, already otherwise determined.

The third 'date of Time' is in Daniel 12⁷, 'a time, times, and an half'. This he interprets as 1 year plus 2 years plus $\frac{1}{2}$ a year. Since a prophetic year is 360 prophetic days, i.e. actual years, this means 1,260 years, agreeing with Revelation 12⁶, and indicating the period during which the saints were to be persecuted by the Pope. This began, he says, in A.D. 381 and ended in 1641.¹¹ In

⁹ Pell to Thurloe, quoted in L. F. Brown, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*. Birchensha is unnoticed in the book. Indeed I have found no mention of him in any book or article on the subject.

¹⁰ There is nothing unusual in this naming of the four Kingdoms except that the first should be Babylonian, not Assyrian. Such interpretation was universal from the early Fathers until the most recent scholarship, which has inclined to insert Median second and to omit the Roman. This view of the Papacy too was common to Protestants generally. The originality concerns the beginning of Christ's reign.

¹¹ Part IV, p. 8.

¹² Though dealing with the same chapter, he neglects to explain those numbers in Daniel 12 (1,290 and 1,335) which Alsted makes decisive.

another passage expounding Revelation 11²⁻⁷, he gives similar meaning to the two witnesses who prophesy for 1,260 days clothed in sackcloth. Again it is the saints under Papal persecution until 1641, after which year the Beast makes war upon the saints. The selection of 1641 as significant of the end of an era is obviously due to the outbreak of Civil War in Britain in 1642.

This may seem altogether harmless stuff. Indeed, Birchensha's 'epistle', at the beginning of his book admonishes his readers to

Live peaceably and without spot until the next appearing of Jesus Christ. Have compassion of some in putting Difference. . . .¹² Speak not evil of your rulers. . . . And lastly, beloved friends, I beseech you seriously weigh and consider that which is written in this book.

These are pacific words for a Fifth Monarchy man to write as late as the year 1655. For what a falling away there had been on the part of one Ruler! The Little Parliament of 1653 had been composed of one hundred and forty members, nominated by Cromwell as 'fearing God and of approved Fidelity and Honesty'. Cromwell in his first speech to the House had stood, as it were, within the ranks of the Fifth Monarchy men himself:

Why should we be afraid to say or think, That *this* may be the door to usher-in the Things that God has promised; which have been prophesied of; which He has set the hearts of His People to expect? We know who they are that shall war with the Lamb 'against His enemies': they shall be 'a people called, and chosen, and faithful'. . . . Indeed I do think somewhat is at the door: we are at the threshold—and therefore it becomes us to lift up our heads. . . .¹³

That was on 4th July 1653. By 19th December the Little Parliament was dissolved, and Cromwell was proclaimed 'Protector'. Among Fifth Monarchy men reaction was extreme. Hotheads like Vavasor Powell and Christopher Feake were loud, bold, and instant in their preaching of treason. A greater number moved more slowly into the same position of hostility. By the Spring of 1657, while Cromwell was being petitioned by the Commons to go farther and accept the crown, wine-cooper Venner and his party did go farther, not only preaching treason, but plotting it. But Birchensha says: 'Speak not evil of your rulers.'

He does recognize and bewail the trend away from Republicanism:

In these dayes, men shall more affect a *Kingly Government* then any other: notwithstanding, that they and their Fathers have been intrhalled for a long time by it. For when God shall take away their Kings, and give them other Rulers, they will murmur against *them* saying, these men's little fingers are heavier then the loyns of our Kings. Then God will remove those Rulers, and set up others, yet they will not be content but desire a King; wherefore the Lord, who is just, will . . . cause *mighty Kings* to rule over them.¹⁴

This reads like, not only an acceptance of the Protectorate, but a foretelling of

¹² Jude 22, a passage which Cromwell was fond of quoting, and quoted as descriptive of his own treatment of 'the mistaken notion of the Fifth Monarchy' in a speech to Parliament the previous September.

¹³ Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters*, III.225.

¹⁴ Part III., p. 12f.

the Restoration. But this reactionary movement, whether royalist or episcopalian, he sees to be transitory:

All things that such *Kings* and *Rulers* (whom God will destroy) do take in hand, shall come to *nought*: neither shall the designs of the learned *Clergy* (who have been unfaithful *Shepherds*) prosper. . . . It is a vain thing for those *Powers* which God hath *shaken* in this Land, to flatter themselves with such hopes as these: we shall yet rise again. . . . Yet for a while, they must continue until those miseries and sad calamities be fulfilled, in which they (the powers of the world) must be instrumentall.¹⁵

There are passages however which are in different vein. When, for example, he expounds Revelation 12¹⁷ as referring to the struggle which began after 1641 and will continue 'until a very little time before the coming of Christ', he says:

From whence I do observe. 1. That there is an appointed time for the Saints to suffer. . . . 2. When the Lord will have his people to suffer, they must not take up the materiall sword, but resist the enemies only with spirituall weapons. 3. When the Lord calleth to *warre*, they may *warre*.¹⁶

Not now the meek and the merciful, the peacemaker and the persecuted, it is religious war which is called blessed. And the blessing of war is always dangerous teaching.

More dangerous are his descriptions of the final overthrow of Babylon, which is Rome, and the gloating sadism with which he makes it:

Lest foolish pity should sway with them . . . they shall receive a strict charge, and command, to strike through every one that is found . . . to break their Children in pieces before their eyes, (nay the Lord wil permit some rude people in his Armies to spoil their houses, and ravish their wives). . . .¹⁷

Dangerous, because there were 'rude people' as listeners and readers of Millenarians then, as there are in many lands for preachers of world revolution now — 'rude people', it seems, even among the prophets.

One cannot fix upon John Birchensha any complicity in Venner's Rebellion of 1661, other than his provision of warrant from the Scriptures. How important a contribution that may have been, can be seen from Venner's earlier effort of 1657. Many, we know, held back from the conspiracy because the time did not fit the prophecy by a matter of weeks. The forty-two months of Revelation 11², taken by many as measuring the extent of this blasphemous Protectorate, pointed to 16th June, whereas Venner's plans were for midnight of 9th April.¹⁸ Zeal for the Kingdom was not enough; one must have Scriptural warrant. Where then for the final rebellion of 1661 was such warrant found? Some guessed this year and some that for the Second Advent,¹⁹ and it may be that

¹⁵ Part III., p. 13.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁷ Part IV., p. 87.

¹⁸ Rogers, *Life and Opinions of a Fifth Monarchy Man*, pp. 138f; L. F. Brown, *Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men*, p. 116.

¹⁹ The following are samples:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--------|
| Death of Theodosius, 395, plus 1260 | = 1655 |
| The Flood, 'as in the days of Noah' | = 1656 |
| Council of Nicaea, 325, plus 1332 | = 1657 |
| Number of the Beast, 666 | = 1666 |

others hit upon 1661, but I know only of Birchensha. In any case Birchensha, both at the time and afterwards, would be painfully aware of the coincidence of his forecast and the time chosen by these extremists.

The year 1661 passed, and the Lord did not appear. Instead Fifth Monarchy men were executed and imprisoned. The same day (January 10th) upon which Pepys reported about Venner, a proclamation was issued closing the conventicles of 'Anabaptists, Quakers, and Fifth Monarchy men'.²⁰ Government action had begun against dissenters generally which was to culminate in all the disabilities of the Clarendon Code. Birchensha may not have been wholly cast down, for had he not safeguarded his statement of the year?

Because I have been importuned by divers to make known my thoughts concerning the number of yeares, I will declare them; and although I may not clearly see the just and direct time, it is possible that I may not erre far from it.²¹

People who deal in 'mysterious numbers' have a capacity for adjustment of the same. In my own copy of *Divine Verities*, opposite one mention of events which 'will be accomplished between An. 1661 and An. 1666 ending',²² there is an entry in faded ink: 'Rather between 1691 and 1696.' Was this a reader for whom 1661 had passed, perhaps one who knew Alsted's reckoning of 1694? Birchensha himself may have reverted to that master.

Certain it is that for him that other interest, music, must loom larger now.²³ To set tunes to Pepys's choice of amorous ditties may have seemed poor occupation for what should have been the end of the ages, but a man must live. And there was comfort in the thought that Alsted's other interest, like his own, was music. Yes, music had worthier patrons than the Secretary to the Admiralty! In presenting *Templum Musicum* to English readers, Birchensha took the liberty to mention some, not inappropriate to this period of the Restoration, but dear also to his Dissenting heart—King David, and the Protestant Princes of Germany. He remembered also to dedicate the volume to the Earl of Sandwich. Yet even this he did half defiantly:

I thought it not necessary to crave a Protection for this Treatise by a Dedication of it unto any, being in it self far above the reach of detracting Calumniators.

No, *Templum Musicum* was safe enough. It was from that earlier work concerned with the Fifth Monarchy that calumnies might come.

JOHN FOSTER

²⁰ Neal, *History of the Puritans*, IV.321.

²¹ Introduction, p. 5.

²² Part IV, p. 81.

²³ A striking instance of success in beginning life anew, on the part of a Fifth Monarchy man, is to be seen in John Rogers. Far more of a politician than Birchensha, he was twice imprisoned by Cromwell and at the Restoration wisely fled to Holland. He now resumed the interrupted medical studies of his youth, at Leyden and Utrecht, graduating M.D. there in 1662. During that year he returned to London, was admitted 'ad eundem' to the degree of M.D. at Oxford in 1664, and the following year published a medical work which he had the temerity to dedicate to the Earl of Clarendon himself.

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO COMMUNISM¹

Views of Barth and Berdyaev

THE CHRISTIAN conscience has been considerably exercised of late on the question of Communism—its nature, growth, and spread. On its philosophic side it takes the form of 'militant atheism', while on its economic side, it has certain Christian elements which make it almost a religion.

In its working in the States of Eastern Europe, Communism has come to be identified with 'totalitarianism'; and this is regarded as the antithesis of democracy and 'democratic socialism', which has its roots in the Christian faith. At Amsterdam in 1948, and again at Chichester, totalitarianism was roundly condemned by the World Council of Churches as a system that arrogated to itself the right to dominate the conscience of man—hitherto the exclusive privilege of the Roman Church! The purpose of the present writer is to consider the views of two of the world's front-rank Christian thinkers—Karl Barth and Nicholas Berdyaev—one a German, now a Swiss citizen; and the other, a Russian Christian philosopher.

KARL BARTH AND EMIL BRUNNER

Dr Karl Barth has a unique place in Christian theology: he is in fact regarded as the foremost theologian of modern times. The author of many works, his *magnum opus*, *Dogmatik* (in the words of Dr Hans Lilje, Bishop of Hanover) is 'the only great modern *comprehensive* exposition of the Christian faith'.

In 1948 Barth visited the Reformed Calvinist Church in Hungary, and on his return was attacked by Professor Emil Brunner (his colleague in Zurich) for evading the problem of totalitarianism as such, and for being as blind to the spiritual menace of Communism as he was open-eyed to that of Nazism! In answer to this challenge Barth made an important statement in *World Review*, a journal whose aim it is to be 'an authoritative, informative, and forward-looking' monthly, which unquestionably it is.

THE CONCERN OF GOD

In dealing with 'the Church between East and West', Barth affirms the close concern of the Church with the problem, because it is the concern of God, who became the brother of man—of all men, in all ages—in His Son. He is concerned with where we stand as *Christians*. It is explained that the conflict is a form of world-political struggle between East and West and is something peculiar to our time. The former 'Great Powers' have almost ceased to exist as such: all that remain are Russia and America. They are the decisive victors in the late War—facing each other and ignoring their fellow victors as well as the defeated. These two Powers are both children of old Europe, but

¹ The writer of this article is an Anglo-Indian who spent his official life at Viceregal Headquarters in Simla, India—and on premature retirement (through breakdown during the first World War) found scope for his Christian witness through both speech and pen. His special public interests are child welfare, temperance, foreign missions, and world peace.

children who have come of age who now wish to be master of their old mother Europe, and of the rest of the world as well. America did not participate at close quarters in two world wars: in both wars she became rich and powerful. Both powers have this in common, that they are surrounded by a safety-zone of other greater or smaller States—formerly independent, but really vassals of one or the other, linked up in a bloc: Each bloc is afraid of the other, but Russia seems to have better ground for anxiety, considering at how many places America (through her British Ally) has blocked Russia's access to the open sea. This statement is challenged in certain quarters, but it is substantially correct.

The antithesis of East and West consists not only in a world-political-power conflict, but is also a spiritual conflict—a struggle between two different conceptions of the ordering of man's life, affecting the lives of people not only in Europe but throughout the World.

A THIRD WAY AND AMSTERDAM

The tendency of both sides, asserts Barth, is to see Good on one side, and Evil on the other—an Angel of Light, and an incarnation of Satan. In such circumstances what should the Christian attitude be? We are forced, says Barth, to ask ourselves whether it can be Christian, from any point of view, to take sides. Will not 'the way of the Community of Jesus Christ' have to be another—a *third* way, its own way? Geographical and natural circumstances inevitably lead us to take sides with America—something inside us instinctively joins in the battle-hymn of the West, while it goes against the grain to listen to the chorus of the East. This should put us all the more on our guard against regarding our Western judgement as the right and Christian judgement. We have to remember our duty and our freedom as *Christians*. It is commonly held that the Christian Church should choose between two opposing and quarrelling World systems; but this being a Western opinion, does not, on that account, make it a Christian opinion. The Amsterdam Church Conference was criticized for not coming to a clear-cut partisan decision on this issue—a fact of some significance, which ought not to be overlooked. We expect the Eastern Church, says Barth, to desist from the path of collaboration while we ourselves collaborated! He thinks that the first element in our Christian political attitude is refusal to be involved one way or the other in this unholy conflict. The cause of the West may be our cause because we happen to belong to the West, but it is not necessarily God's cause. The only possible way for the Christian is a 'third way'—and this view is held unequivocally by Berdyaev also as shown later.

BERDYAEV'S UNIQUE RECORD

It may be useful first to say something of the man himself and his message. Berdyaev came from an aristocratic family; was expelled from the University of Kiev (where he was born) for his advanced Socialist views, and later was an exile in Europe. He was a prolific writer—two of his chief works being *The Destiny of Man* and *The Meaning of History*. He is described as one of the survivors of the modern renaissance of Russia which began with Tolstoy and

Dostoevski and other giants of the last century. He was a 'Thinker of Crisis', and every word he has written is informed with the consciousness and agony of crisis. He is valued today for his rethinking of Christian philosophy in terms highly personal and pertinent to our modern doubts and perplexities. In his *Meaning of History*, which incorporates his lectures given in Moscow (prior to his banishment in 1922), he says: 'Not only Russia, but Europe and the world as a whole, are entering upon a catastrophic period of their development; we are living at a time of immense crisis, on the threshold of a new era. The very structure of historical development has undergone a profound change, and man is directing his thought and conscience to the examination of the fundamental problems of history and to the elaboration of a new philosophy of history.' He goes on to say that we are now at the end of modern history, and are entering an unknown *period*, which as yet has no name. That was a prophetic utterance, made more than thirty years ago!

A DIVIDED WORLD—LINKED IN SIN

Writing on the anniversary of Berdyaev's passing in March 1948, Stefan Schimanski says: 'He was part of two seemingly irreconcilable worlds; he embraced both in his life—accepted neither wholly, and rejected neither wholly. This enabled him to see the interrelation of Communism and Capitalism, of East and West. He recognized Communism for the poison it was, but he was equally convinced that it was born out of the sins of the Christians. The world, therefore, he maintained, was not divided: it was *linked*—in sin.' Berdyaev died convinced that potentially the human soul was capable of separating the truth from the lie, and of welding the truth of one world to the truth of the other—that is, like peace, truth is indivisible. Berdyaev's own formula for organizing the 'New Apocalypse' was simply 'love'—this was precisely Gandhi's position, which he called *satyagraha*—or truth-force. Both thinkers were subjects of 'the Kingdom not of this world' because they were votaries of the truth, which Pilate did not understand, and which led him to say to Jesus in effect: 'I am asking you about your claims to empire and you tell me about truth; what has *truth* to do with the question.'²

THE VOICE OF RUSSIA

Berdyaev interprets the spirit and mission of Russia by saying that the true vindication of the mission of Russia should lead not to irreconcilable division between herself and other nations—not to opposing blocs, and hence to war—but to unity of mankind and brotherhood, since the fundamental quality of the Russian idea is to inspire, to create unity, and link all men in a communion. The true voice of Russia is not heard in the mumbo-jumbo of international politics and the creation of the Iron Curtain. On the other hand, he finds it necessary to say that 'democratic society' must move from a mere recognition of abstract rights and liberties, and from the formal principle of talking and voting, to a *real freedom* which provides life with aim and purpose. Such a vision can only be born of religious conviction—only a religious Socialism and

² Archbishop Whately's annotation on Bacon's 'Essay on Truth'.

a complete spiritual renewal can imbue modern society with a dynamic power.

Berdyaev goes on to say that Russian Communism is a challenge to the Christian World of the West. 'There's nothing more pitiable than attempts to use Christianity as a prop for the dying *bourgeois* world. The tragic division of the world into a Western and Eastern bloc cannot possibly be understood as a polarization into a Kingdom of Light and a Kingdom of Darkness—of good and evil. There is light and darkness, good and evil on *both* sides, and in each of us.'

A unification of the world on a federation of the peoples which excludes Russia is no unification at all. It would, on the contrary, signify the consolidation of a disintegrated world. There must be a *third way*: this will probably, on the social level, assume some form of Socialism—but above all, it will involve a radical spiritual transformation in the sphere of human relationships.

THE CHRISTIAN STOOL

Those who refuse to adhere to either of the blocs, says Berdyaev, 'are generally accused of sitting between two stools—this is based on the popular assumption that there are only two stools in the world! But why not a third one? I for one am perfectly happy to sit on it, and do not intend to move to either of the two. There is a third way'.

Such, then, are the views of two Christian thinkers who occupy an outstanding place in the estimation of the Christian Church today. It is striking that Barth and Berdyaev, belonging as they do to varying cultures and traditions, should be identical in their conclusion as to the place of the Christian in the present world conflict of thought and opinion. Such a position as that enunciated by them may perhaps be construed as one of *neutrality*, and this is often considered synonymous with weakness, escapism, and defeatism. But a little reflection will show that such criticism is entirely superficial. The ground on which the Christian stands is a definitely positive one: there can be no negativity in the confession that we have all sinned and come short of the glory of God. 'We are all guilty', says Berdyaev, and such an admission, if shared by the nations of the world, is the first step to mutual understanding and world peace.

*O, yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill.*

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*That good shall fall,
At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.*

NORMAN GANTZER

EVANGELISM

FIRST let us try to get hold of the main idea: the place where the emphasis is laid in New Testament evangelism. The word itself is not found in the Bible, but we have the word 'evangelist' often, as in Acts 21⁸, 'Philip the evangelist'; Ephesians 4¹¹, 'He gave some gifts as evangelists', 2 Timothy 4⁵, 'Do the work of an evangelist'. This word 'evangelist' (εὐαγγελιστής) means a bringer of good news, i.e. good news about God and good news about our own future. It is hard for us to understand the terror that the name of some of the pagan gods aroused, and one would need to go to India or Africa to understand it today. So primarily our message concerns the nature and character of God, as seen in Christ. The emphasis was originally placed on God, and secondarily on man's response and experience. But in recent days the emphasis has been reversed: first, 'What does man think?', 'let us pool our ideas or humanism;' and second, 'God in human thought'. But God is the basis of all true evangelism. It is the opposite of psychology which is concerned with man; it therefore passes outside its sphere when it begins to discuss God. Yet ministers are professed theologians and may take some part in evangelism with individuals, or a group, or a congregation. When we undertake to lead others into the spiritual life, two factors emerge: (1) Our own *character*. (Is there anything in us that belies what we proclaim?) and (2) that Evangelists are like surgeons in a maternity ward whose task is to aid the arrival of infant-souls at birth. It is a delicate task and while we have divine help, we must know our job which calls for skill. At this point I may recall Professor Massie's threefold note on New Testament evangelists. He reminds us that (a) evangelists were ranked below apostles and prophets (or preachers) (Ephesians 4¹¹); (b) they were travelling missionaries; (c) they had a special gift or charism, i.e. the Holy Spirit acted on and through them in a special way. He calls them 'matter-of-fact men' paving the way for others, by which he means that they did not indulge in subtle problems. The evangelist had one end in view: how to put his case and win the election for Christ; he left detailed instruction to the 'pastors and teachers'. The evangelists were recruiting agents; but all early workers acted as occasion required and at times deacons and apostles, we know, became evangelists.

They were sometimes solemnly set apart for their office (see Acts 13³), which shows how apostles could become evangelists. There is no mention of evangelists in the Apostolic Fathers, but instructions for evangelists and tests of their sincerity and worthiness are found in the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Twelve* (written c. A.D. 120). Eusebius (c. A.D. 325) calls evangelists 'scatterers of the seed of the word of God'.

Massie's conclusion (*H.D.B.*, Vol. 1) with regard to New Testament evangelists is that their work is classed as being done on tour (as that of some of our overseas missionaries today), in contrast with that done at home by pastors and teachers. We do not refer to the word as applied to a writer of the gospels. We conclude, where we began, that the emphasis is not on man or his experience, but upon God as revealed in Christ. I repeat that it asserts God's attitude towards us, in contrast to pagan conceptions. It is the gospel, or good news.

'God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath 'committed unto us the word of reconciliation' (2 Corinthians 5¹⁹).

Let us observe some *elements in evangelism*. On the human side, man's whole personality must be kept in view, for although it is a unity, it has different aspects which as psychology shows, interact on one another. We look, firstly, at the demands of the intellect—unless there is such a thing as a congregation of illiterates who never have a mental problem! Compulsory education has been in the land for almost fifty years; secondary schools multiply; teacher-training colleges have been opened and, yearly, increasing numbers enter the universities. All this may mean nothing in moral or religious development, but it makes the evangelist's task harder. The human mind is obsessed with problems and questions that were unheard of in Wesley's day. To the reader they may appear trivial, but to the young student-class they are painfully real. Let us but mention three: evolution, biblical criticism, and Freudian psychology, with a vague notion that only scientific truth is valid. We must be as familiar with these problems as our young hearers, treating them seriously for what they are worth and thus pursuing the reasoner out of his rabbit-hole. It is useless—even if true—to say that these are only makeshift evasions. Having exposed the logic for what it is worth, we must then press home the claims of Christ and the Christian way of life. A remarkable phenomenon is that the tide has turned among scientific lecturers, and I am convinced that, in due course, such will be the case amongst students. Meanwhile we must face hard and constant study, striving to be more advanced on these questions than our hearers. All lasting evangelism must rest on instruction.

Secondly, the evangel, not the evangelist, stirs the *emotion*, and recalling how man is made, this quickening is inevitable. Almost every fact related to our life touches feeling: if a student passes an examination, if someone gets a food parcel from U.S.A. (especially with meat in it), or if another realizes that the living God is a Friend—each is bound to have his emotion stirred. Beyond convincing him of the good news of Christ, the evangelist need not trouble his head, and all efforts to have a cheery meeting with popular hymns, wisecracks and the like are only exploiting emotion. Thus the last state may be worse than the first, if there is nothing else to hold on to. The deliberate stimulation of emotion has frequently earned evangelism a bad name. Some have been caught by it, but when the 'happy feeling' has passed they have felt depressed and 'let down'. Reaction of feeling to truth is both legitimate and natural, but to quicken feeling by artificial aids is a kind of immoral rape. To play on mass feeling is both dangerous and harmful, and it can also arouse sex emotions. African missionaries can tell you the dangers among primitive people.

Thirdly, true evangelism is directed at the will. In the early history of the Semites the emotions figured largely, but the great work of the prophets—from Amos to Daniel—aimed to invoke the will to play its part. The result is ethical monotheism. If the evangel of God in Christ is presented with due appeal, the question then arises: 'What about it?' Action and reaction confront us everywhere. When a traveller offers his goods, praises their merits and mentions the wisdom of buying now, his eye is on the will: 'What about it?' 'Anything doing?' If the purchaser is convinced, he decides to purchase and

the traveller's will becomes his will. He is a converted man. He commits himself, his money, his future prospects to the traveller's sermon. Or for some reason or other he is unconvinced and says: 'Go thy way for this time'. The evangelist can recapitulate his arguments and case, but unless he can add some new point beyond this, he cannot prevail. To persist in repeating a similar appeal and re-entreating the same people only irritates and repels: to harp on the will without new reasons is doomed to failure. A good case clearly put usually gets the required response. We can trust God and truth to do their work.

With regard to the will, one fact ought to be borne in mind. A country gets Socialist government and Communism when 'deeds', not principles, are in the air and men are accessible on the ethical side. Again as evangelists we must face the fact of the temporary decay of individualism; today men are more ready to be moved in masses and thought for in masses, and they feel less individual responsibility when appealed to than men did in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries. He is indeed brave who strikes out on his own today: it is harder to get the individual to take action.

This is an age of revived Sacramentarianism and it is easier to get a group at the Lord's Table than an individual at a penitent form. As the result of mass feeling there is a waning sense of personal sin and a new sense of social sin—housing, sanitation, care of the aged, and so on. All these are good in their way, but they fail to stress pride, sloth, evasion, getting as against giving, rights as against service, and a new nature. Let us use this mass action if individualism is at the moment on the wane.

In all this we recognize that barriers may stand in the way over which the evangelist has no control: 'What will it cost?', 'What about public opinion?', 'I can't live up to it', 'It isn't done' and the like. Of course it will be part of the evangelist's work to encourage the individual and to expose such bogies of the mind, showing what others have done in like conditions; but in the final analysis it is not the evangelist who settles them.

What about the appeal to Fear? No and Yes. (a) Such statements as 'This may be your last chance'; 'Tonight you may sin away the Spirit'; 'Hell waits to devour'—all this is contrary to the appeals of Jesus and is unethical. It is still used by some sects and by the Church of Rome. What we dread in much of this is its small grip on character. (b) But there is a wise and worthy use of *fear*. Thus, if a certain evil habit is persisted in it will become our character: it will coarsen our nature, dim our vision and render us unfit for the finer things of God. We can reach a stage where we could put light for darkness, error for truth and we suffer damnation (loss). There came a stage when the enemies of Jesus could see nothing in Him, whereas His life judged and condemned theirs. The saddest word in the Bible is: 'He that is filthy let him be filthy still.' There are legitimate reasons to proclaim *fear*.

We look more closely at Conversion. The word occurs only once in the Bible (Acts 15^a), though the cognates, 'turn' and 'be turned', occur frequently. It originally meant (1) to change your mind; (2) to change your conduct, to turn from self and sin, to turn to Christ. This is implied in repentance and faith. There are two main types of this conjoint experience—one a process, the other a crisis. We can ignore neither. We have such contrasts in conversion as

Peter's and Paul's. Barth seems to set small store on Peter's conversion, yet Peter faced martyrdom for Christ. There is a place for missions and a place for preparation classes and a place for personal talks. The preparation class as a means of evangelism needs deeper consideration, but we cannot enlarge upon that here. Its aim lies beyond telling young born Methodists who John Wesley was or giving a description of eighteenth century mobs. Urgent appeal to give their lives to Christ is as necessary as in any special mission.

While the central theme is God's appeal to us in Christ now, and man's response, we must keep in mind Christ's second great command: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' which means man's attitude as a Christian towards society. Our evangelism must start at the Cross, but it must also stress the significance of the Incarnation. This has not been done in some forms of evangelism: Salvation was presented only as a preparation for heaven, or a self-centred conception that thought of ourselves only. Then last century came Westcott, Maurice Lidgett, Wordsworth, Tennyson and Browning who showed us how one-sided our evangelism had been. Again may I say that Barth lays far too little emphasis on the Incarnation. Had it been stressed, Communism would not have found so many inviting fields. The Cross is the outcome of the Incarnation. Christ's incarnate life was the expression of God among men. 'The Word became flesh', and in Christ God touched all life—motherhood, childhood, education, disease, funerals, weddings, and much else. The penalty of the Church's neglect is a one-sided gospel, on the other—as God cried: 'Ho Assyrian, the rod of mine anger, the staff in whose hand is mine indignation' (read carefully Isaiah 10⁴⁻¹⁶). So has He called Marx, as the rod of His anger, to correct a Church that has only preached half-a-gospel, that has presented a God of Eternity but not of time. This gospel of the Incarnation is not yet accepted by many Christians. To some sects this world is 'a weary wilderness', and we do not make Christ the Lord of all life.

To say the social gospel is *all* is as great a mistake. Britain is getting this blast now. It omits the spiritual values. Let us hold firmly to both. Let us give a meaning to this life, as well as to the beyond. We must make plain in our evangel the purpose of God both in Bethlehem and Calvary.

No evangelist has an easy task today. He cannot, like Jonathan Edwards, challenge his hearers with a lurid hell or entice him with a voluptuous heaven. Palms of victory, harps of music, and streets of gold leave people unmoved. Does any reality remain in the two words heaven and hell? One word translated 'hell' in the Authorized Version is the word *Sheol*. It means, as the Revised Version tells us, the 'grave' or 'underworld'. 'The wicked shall be turned into hell' is translated in the Revised Version: 'The wicked shall return to Sheol' (Psalm 9¹⁷). When we turn to the Greek *Gehenna*, Salmond points out that 'we are left with two ideas about the word. One regards it as equivalent to the word "annihilation" the other as equal to "eternal torment" and there is no final decision' (*H.D.B.*, Vol. II). The best method probably of preaching the realities of the hereafter is to keep to present moral experiences: to accept Christ means peace, wisdom, power, character; to follow self and sin is discontent, self-condemnation, and deterioration of character—that if it is followed we go down and perish.

In concluding we think of the masses outside the Church.

(a) It is not so much a problem of ignorance of Christian truths as of barren intellectualism. Faith consists to many as an assent to dogma, but conformity to Christ's image is forgotten. Men can argue about the Trinity but they forget, for instance, that there is a mind of God on Pride.

(b) Again we have around us those whom Spurr calls cinema-minded and sport-minded. How we can get our appeal to the former seems to be by presenting the ethics of the gospel: 'Go and *do*.' To the latter it is more to the imagination and conscience. The picture may amuse, and sport may excite the competitive instinct and stir emotion to lead to physical development, while the higher levels of man remain untouched. The whole interest has no future and with the years it becomes a diminishing quantity. Can cinemas not be captured yet more for evangelism? and can cells not be formed in athletic clubs?

(c) Next, we meet the seeming indifferent. Remember, however, that indifference is often a mask. Young people often think deeply when they do not speak, and a kindly talk with such folk often sets in motion a train of vital consequences. God is always at work. Your word may be a spark to the tinder.

Finally, we must go outside the churches, and adventure with God. Let us evangelize the preparation classes and guilds, boys' clubs, etc., and above all, let us keep in mind the fact that Conversion is only the beginning.

ALEXANDER MCCREA

PHILIP DODDRIDGE

26th June 1702—26th October 1751

THE ANCESTRY of Philip Doddridge was good. His paternal grandfather, one time Rector of Shepperton, was one of the two thousand clergy ejected from the Established Church when the Act of Uniformity was passed in 1662. His maternal grandfather was an exiled Lutheran preacher who, also in 1662, fled from Bohemia, and settled in Kingston-on-Thames where he opened a private school. Here he married, and here he died, leaving one daughter who, later, became the wife of Daniel Doddridge, a prosperous oilman.

Into their home there arrived, in course of time, twenty children. Elizabeth and Philip were the sole survivors. At birth Philip had been put aside as too frail to bother about. He was, however, rescued from so early a death by the keen observation and kindly compassion of one whose name still remains unknown. 'Philly'—his pet name for a number of years—never forgot the Old Testament stories, illustrated by the blue Dutch tiles of the fireplace, which his mother taught him. They came in useful in his later years.

In 1715, when both parents died, the orphan boy was removed by a self-appointed guardian, by the name of Downes, to a school at St Albans. Here the

Minister of the Presbyterian Church, the Rev. Dr Samuel Clarke, became a second father to the boy. Philip now began to seriously think of the ministry, and on 1st February 1719 he dedicated his life, and became a member of the Church. That summer he left school, very bewildered concerning his future. His heart was now set upon the ministry, but the way there was unknown. For advice and guidance he turned to his sister. Elizabeth had married a school-master, the Rev. John Nettleton, whose school was 'near the Windmill' on Hampstead Heath. They received him with real affection and suggested that he remain with them until the way opened up. After some weeks of waiting a letter from Dr Clarke arrived inviting him to make his home at the Manse until admission to some Academy arrived. In that October he left for the Academy at Kibworth, Leicester.

The next ten years passed quickly: three at the Academy, two as minister at Kibworth, four as joint-minister at Market Harborough, and one as tutor of the new Academy opened there. Then came a call to Castle Hill Meeting, Northampton. He accepted. Here, in December 1729 he entered upon his life's work as minister, tutor, and much besides.

In the following summer he was introduced to Mary Marris, aged 22, an orphan who was living with her uncle and guardian at Upton-on-Severn. They were married on 22nd December, thus beginning a life destined to continue for nearly twenty-one years, ideally happy, though, all too frequently, separated by his continuous engagements. They had nine children, three sons and six daughters, five dying in infancy.

After twenty-one years of strenuous work, tuberculosis insisted on having its own way with him. By the kindness of the Countess of Huntingdon he was able to visit Lisbon. But it was too late. In less than a month all was over. He was only forty-nine! His wife recorded that the rapture which lighted his face reminded her of his own inspired lines:

*When death o'er nature shall prevail,
And all the powers of language fail,
Joy through my swimming eyes shall break,
And mean the thanks I cannot speak.*

Nature and grace conspired together to give to the world a five-talented man, utterly dedicated.

PREACHER

No truthful biographer could describe him as a great preacher. In May 1739 letters arrived from London telling of George Whitefield's crowds of twenty, and sometimes of thirty thousand standing in all weathers, thrilled. On 21st May Whitefield visited Northampton and 'at seven o'clock preached on a common to about three thousand hearers'. From that day Doddridge and Whitefield became kindred spirits. In 1743 Doddridge shared the services in London with Whitefield, who, the following October, again visited Northampton. In 1750 he paid his third visit, and again gathered a huge crowd.

To his lasting credit let it be recorded that Doddridge stood for a united Nonconformity. But he was too broad, too tolerant, too sympathetic, too

understanding, too far-seeing, too evangelical for all too many saints. Trouble after trouble arrived from Bristol, Exeter, London, and other centres. Criticisms and reproaches were rampant. Even Dr Watts wrote his young friend beseeching him to tread more cautiously.

But his own congregation did not increase. At the beginning of his ministry its membership totalled 342; at its end it was 239. And under his immediate successors it declined still further. In 1739, after nineteen years of toil he wrote in the Castle Hill Church Book: 'In looking over the accounts for the year 1749, I find that twenty-two had been admitted, and twenty-two removed by death or otherwise, so that we were just as at the beginning of the year, in all 239.'

And yet it is unbelievable that such a life, so sincere, so consistent, so consecrated and loyal, could contribute only to the scrap heap.

TEACHER

Nonconformist minister though he was, Doddridge was on excellent terms with both Oxford and Cambridge, though their gates were still closed to all except students belonging to the Church of England.

Three facts of the period produced the rise of the Academies:

(1) In 1662 the Act of Uniformity became law, and two thousand clergymen 'dissented'. In consequence they were expelled from the Established Church. Hence the term 'dissenter'.

(2) It was not until 1871 that the Colleges of both Oxford and Cambridge were open, irrespective of any religious qualification.

(3) Between the 1600s and the 1800s, more especially in the reigns of the first two Georges, the universities, as teaching-centres, were at their lowest standard. Dr Adam Smith had to confess: 'The greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether the practice of teaching.' Edward Gibbon stated that 'public exercises and examinations were utterly unknown'. Lord Chesterfield made mention of the 'rust' of Cambridge. Allowing for prejudice and exaggeration there was, unfortunately, much truth in the allegations.

Meanwhile, students sought for the higher education which the local schools could not possibly give. Many were disqualified on religious, or rather ecclesiastical, grounds, from entering the universities, others had no desire to waste their years in going there. At the same time a number of clergymen, highly qualified, keen and devoted, were out of work. Thus a great opportunity arose and was seized by both teachers and students. About twenty of the clergy opened their houses, up and down the country, and students applied for admission. These 'academies' were private undertakings, worked under the personal supervision of the tutor. Finances were met, if possible, by the relatives of the student; if that was impossible, a central fund contributed; frequently the difficulty was met by aid from both sources.

Students varied in number from thirteen to forty-six, with an average per year of thirty-four. During his period of twenty-one years Doddridge tutored two hundred, of whom one hundred and twenty entered the ministry.

The Syllabus was remarkable. It included: algebra and trigonometry,

occasional astronomy; Latin and Greek; logic and philosophy; civil law and ecclesiastical history; theology and Jewish antiquities. Shorthand was obligatory. Hebrew was read with his theological students. Frequently they toured his library together, stopping here and there to be introduced to some author well worth knowing, or to some book well worth reading. As a medical professor takes his students round the wards with him, so Doddridge invited his student-ministers to accompany him on his pastoral rounds.

The staff varied in the different academies. In the smaller ones the tutor himself was sufficient. Doddridge had an assistant to take the less important subjects. Whilst the training was particularly for students entering the ministry, it was by no means a 'closed shop'. Many became barristers, doctors, merchants, and Members of Parliament.

At Doddridge's invitation John Wesley visited the academy and addressed the students. The following year at Wesley's request Doddridge sent him a list of books suitable for his students in London.

In 1736 Aberdeen University acknowledged the great contribution Doddridge was making to the education and spirit of youth, and conferred upon him the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity.

WRITER

Throughout his career Philip Doddridge was a great writer. Letters, sermons, lectures, devotional volumes, and hymns—he made time for all. His *Collected Works*, in ten volumes, were printed in Leeds in 1802–5 and again in 1811. *Correspondence*. Let it be remembered that he could not afford to keep a private secretary, and also that the age of typewriters was not yet.

On one occasion he records: 'I marshalled my unanswered letters and found them one hundred and six, near one quarter of which reached me since Friday noon (it was then Monday evening), and all this though I have written between fifty and sixty letters the last fourteen days, with my own hand, having no secretary.'

Sermons. Often these were written *in extenso*. There was no alternative. So many were wanted for publication. He frequently tackled subjects which called for a roused public opinion.

Lectures. His interest and knowledge were not, by any means, limited to theology. Three papers are preserved which he read before the Royal Society. There are reports of two addresses given to the Northampton Philosophical Society, one on the 'Doctrine of Pendulums', the other on the 'Laws of the Communication of Motion as well in Elastic as in Non-elastic bodies'.

Devotional Volumes. These appeared in edition after edition, evidently supplying a very real need:

The Family Expositor (1739). This was in six volumes and took twelve years to complete. For his great task he commandeered the early and late hours of the day, and all stray moments whether in coach or on horse-back.

His design was to unite the four Gospels into one complete and continuous narrative, using the Authorized Version throughout. A similar series on the Minor Prophets was completed in 1751, but was left in manuscript unpublished.

Principles of the Christian Religion in Plain and Easy Verse (1744). 'I have been

amusing myself with making some little verses for the children. 'Tis a work Mr Clarke, of St Albans, proposed to me—that I should draw up a little summary of religion in verse, for the use of little children, pretty much in sense the same with Dr Watts's *Second Catechism*.' The volume proved a great success, and became a general favourite with children. The Princess of Wales allowed each of her children to possess a copy. On 16th February 1745 a letter was received from their tutor, Dr Ayscough: 'I must tell you that Prince George (afterwards George the Third), to his honour and to my shame, had learned several pages in your little book of verses without any direction from me; and I must say of all his children, that they are as conformable and as capable of necessary instruction as any children I have met with.'

The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul (1745). The idea of a spiritual guide for inquirers originated with Dr Watts, who, through increasing frailties, commended the task, with perfect confidence to his young friend.

The volume proved 'a best seller'. Forty-eight editions were printed in London, twenty-five in the Provinces, and there were nine translations. William Wilberforce connected his spiritual conversion with this book and followed it with a volume entitled *The Practical View of Christianity*. This, in turn, was read by a young clergyman by the name of Leigh Richmond, who, in his turn, wrote a book entitled *The Dairyman's Daughter*. This also passed through many editions.

PHILANTHROPIST

If philanthropy means a lover of one's fellow creatures, then Philip Doddridge has a high place in the Honours List.

Charity Schools. Their origin dates from James the Second and forms a long and interesting story. Amongst the most enthusiastic supporters of this far-reaching experiment was Dr Doddridge.

County Infirmary. In 1731 a resident of Northampton, Dr. John Rushworth, suggested that an infirmary be built in the centre of every county. For twelve years the idea lay dormant. Then in the spring of 1743 Doddridge and a young medical, Dr James Stonehouse, revived the idea and succeeded in gathering an influential following. On 4th September Doddridge preached a sermon on the subject. A large edition was printed and widely circulated. On 20th September a 'General and very great meeting of the nobility, gentry and clergy resolved to establish the hospital'. A building, capable of containing eighty beds, was purchased, and on the following 27th March 'The Infirmary' was formally opened.

Foreign Missionary Society. In 1741 Doddridge preached a sermon on 'The Evil and Danger of neglecting the Souls of Men'. His object was that 'Pious people unite as members of a Society'. They were to meet four times yearly, review the field, gather and distribute information, publish Bibles and other literature, and seek to establish schools abroad. Each member was expected to contribute both prayer and money. Doddridge had invented an agenda for a Foreign Missionary Society in every local Church!

Bible and Tract Society. On 30th August 1750 a Mr Forfitt, a wealthy merchant, heard a sermon preached by Doddridge: 'And thou Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shall be brought down to hell.' It so deeply moved him

that he immediately founded 'The Society for Promoting Religious Knowledge among the Poor'. He wrote Doddridge: 'Dear Sir, if the world receives any advantage from this design, I think, under God, it is indebted to Dr Doddridge.'

It surely would have delighted the heart of Doddridge to have seen, thirty-two years afterwards, young William Carey, the 'cobbler'. He disrobed in Castle Hill Vestry, walked down to the River Nene, and was baptized. He was accepted by the Baptist Missionary Society and became the first Protestant Missionary to India.

HYMNIST

Philip Doddridge had, as his inspiration and example, Isaac Watts, his senior by twenty-eight years. It is unwise to compare Doddridge with either his predecessor, Isaac Watts, or with his contemporary, Charles Wesley. Each was entirely different from the other two.

Isaac Watts set out to Christianize the Jewish Psalms.

Charles Wesley took experience, whether of external circumstances and affairs, or of the internal and spiritual findings in his own soul, and made hymns of them.

Philip Doddridge associated his hymns with his sermons. The one was the overflow of the other. When the preparation of the sermon was completed, his mind still full to overflowing with his subject, he used the inspired moment to write the hymn, which bearing upon the subject, would complete the service. Every hymn of his was based upon a passage of Scripture, the text of the preceding sermon.

All his hymns were in manuscript. Not a few of them were copied, often with alterations, and distributed amongst his friends. Unfortunately his writing was well-nigh illegible. Hence variant readings became inevitable. The task of collecting and compiling for publication he left to the love and loyalty of his friend Job Orton.

It is well to remember that the 1700s were not a very happy period for the hymn-writer. The 'tyrannous sway' of Sternhold and Hopkins's *Old Version* had somewhat weakened before the oncoming of Tate and Brady with their *New Version*. But the 'version' was still 'metrical'. It was with the arrival of Isaac Watts that a wider vision was given to the Churches, both Established and Free. But it was only the Non-conformist Churches which welcomed the innovation, and they not always wholeheartedly and enthusiastically. As C. S. Phillips puts it: 'The day of hymn-singing in Church on a large scale was still far off. In this department of religious life it was not the Church of England but the bodies separated from her that were to be the effective pioneers.' Some eighty years ago Lord Selborne had said: 'The English Independents have a just claim to be considered the real founders of modern English hymnody. Watts was the first to understand the nature of the want, and he led the way in providing for it.'

It is difficult to appreciate the enormous difficulties which faced the new school of hymn-writers. The day of organist, choir, and hymn-books was not yet. Instead it was the clerk with his pitch-pipe. Instead, too, of hymn-books

'with tunes', there were, with Doddridge, at any rate, two manuscript copies, one for himself and one for his clerk. The next line would then be read and sung, and thus to the end of each verse, and thus to the end of each hymn. No hymn-writer could possibly give full expression to his hymns, each had to submit to tantalizing and mechanical restrictions. Watts takes one into his workshop and lets one see the difficulties: 'I have seldom permitted a stop in the middle of a line, and seldom left the end of a line without one. To comport a little with the unhappy mixture of reading and singing which cannot presently be reformed.' And, in addition to all this, there remained the conservative nature of the congregation which, even yet, is not very prone to new hymns and new tunes.

In the 1700s these non-Biblical hymns met with general opposition. Tate and Brady refused to die. Even one hundred years later, when the rest of the world were singing them, Horatius Bonar's Church refused to sing their own minister's hymns! But the bright succession had begun, and Watts was splendidly followed by Philip Doddridge.

Of the 370 hymns which Job Orton managed to collect, over a dozen are found in one or other of the hymn-books of the present day—not at all a poor percentage. The following would probably receive the largest number of votes, and be considered his Great Half Dozen.

Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve.

Hark the glad sound! The Saviour comes.

My God, and is Thy Table spread.

See Israel's gentle Shepherd stand.

O God of Bethel, By whose Hand.

O happy day, that fixed my choice.

W. S. KELYNACK

The Church Overseas

THE MISSIONARY AND THE CHURCH¹

IN THE year 1851—the year of the Great Exhibition—a young missionary sets out from England for India. He has responded to the appeal he has heard at one of the great missionary rallies at Exeter Hall where crowds gathered to listen to a stream of missionary oratory seven hours long. He has been accepted, commissioned, and sent forth by his Church to a foreign field where he will join a group of missionaries who have gone out before him. At a point somewhere between Malta and Port Said he crosses an imaginary but very significant line which separates Christendom from the heathen world to which he has been appointed. At Malta he will have shaken his head sadly over ‘Roman error’ as he viewed the Churches rising above the harbour, but at Port Said, looking over the side at the Arab boatmen, he will recognize this as the real thing: this is heathendom: these are the people to whom he has been sent—or something very like them. On arrival at his destination he will begin work beside his missionary colleagues, reporting back from time to time to the Church which sent him; from it he will receive money for his support, and such other funds as they are able to send him to further his work. In course of time he will come home on furlough and use the opportunity to stir up the interest of the Church at home and to seek recruits who will go back with him. Eventually he will retire, committing the work into the hands of younger missionaries whom he has himself recruited and trained to succeed him. That is an over-simplified picture, but it broadly represents the place of the missionary in the life of the Church as it was understood among us a century ago.

To our fathers the Mission of the Church was clear-cut, concrete, capable of exact definition in space and time; there was a clearly demarcated frontier between Christendom and heathendom, the Church and the world, which the nineteenth-century Christian could confidently draw on his map. Ever since Islam had dropped its iron curtain over the Holy Land, and wrenched two-thirds of the Mediterranean littoral from the influence of the Christian Church, the frontier between Christendom and the heathen world had hardened into a well-defined line whose exact location was as well known as the 38th parallel is today. From that time the Church’s Mission began to be seen as the impact of the Church of the West upon the world beyond that line, and the Missionary—the embodiment of the Mission—was the man who, crossing the boundary, carried the Gospel into the world of heathenism. (That the boundary between the Church and the World as thus understood should have coincided with the boundary of race and colour has had, as we know, consequences as momentous as they have been unfortunate.)

Today that boundary has disappeared, and we are living in conditions more like those of the New Testament, with the result that we have to change our

¹ The substance of an address given to the Conference of British Missionary Societies at Swanwick in June 1951.

whole concept of the Church's Mission and of the world on which it makes its impact. The Church can no longer be described in geographical terms; it lives as a small minority community in Tokyo and Pekin, in Madras and Colombo, in Cairo and Lagos, even as it does in Manchester and Chicago, and everywhere it is surrounded by the world—a world which both in Madras and in London is a mixture of those who worship false gods and those who worship none. The old frontier of the Kingdom can no longer be traced on a map; it runs through the institutions and the factories, the suburbs and the very homes, of the cities of England and Pakistan alike. The Church's Mission, of course, remains. Because the Church is the Church, it must make a constant impact upon the World, but the nature of that impact has changed. It is made in part by the life and witness of men and women living on the Kingdom's frontiers in the school and factory and consulting-room; it is also made by people who have been specially trained and set aside for the task: such are the evangelist in the Indian village, the colporteur on the Copper Belt, and the parson on the new housing estate. Wherever the Church is, there must be the Church's Mission, finding its embodiment in the lives of those, ordained or lay, who are a part of the fellowship of the witnessing and worshipping community.

That is the situation which is developing in Asia: the way in which God seems to be leading His Church—and already it is beginning to be true of Africa too. But there are obstacles to that development which are to be found in the more conservative thinking of the rank and file of our Church at home (whence come our missionary recruits) and also in a missionary organization which was moulded by the older concept of missionary service and which has not yet sufficiently adapted itself to the new. The older concept envisaged the missionary primarily as the organ of the Church in England, and the Missionary Committee as the body responsible for him and to whom he was responsible. All his ties, psychological as well as economic were, and still are, with the Church which sent him out and to which he will return. It commissions him and sends him out: it pays his allowances and maintains his house: it cares for him in health and sickness: it determines the length of his service and the time of his retirement. It is indeed, in a phrase familiar enough in the East, 'his father and his mother', to whom the missionary will look for security whatever difficulties or deprivations may beset the local Church. All that was a natural and proper expression of the realities of the situation as they existed last century—but not today. If the missionary is really to become a part of the local Church, sharing so fully in its life that he can become in truth an embodiment of its Mission, there needs to be more than goodwill and fellowship; there must be a complete integration into the whole life of the worshipping community, an integration which will involve mutual responsibility and trust in material as well as spiritual things. He must depend upon the local Church for his support and he must be responsible to it for his stewardship, and the Church must reciprocate by accepting responsibility for his maintenance and for his physical and material welfare. All this will involve revolutionary changes in our practice and in our thinking, but we are living in times which are not only revolutionary, but in which patterns of thought and emotional factors are changing with a rapidity which it is hard even to comprehend; if the Church is to remain relevant to the new age in Asia and Africa it must be

prepared to re-examine, and repeatedly re-examine, its assumptions and practice, and estimate anew their value and relevance for today. How that change is to be achieved, or rather how we are to adjust ourselves and our organization to a change which is already taking place before our eyes, it is difficult to see, but we must confront the new situation with courage and without too great a regard for precedents: the age in which we live has none. There are two lines of thought in this connexion that need to be explored. One is the question of the standard of living of the missionary, and the other is the matter of the local support of the missionary.

Our modern missionary, with his European standard of living is, like the bungalow he inhabits and the school which he manages, built on a scale which is out of relation to the economics of the Church he serves, and the adjustment of this old pattern of missionary enterprise to the modern situation in Asia is one of the major difficulties of missionary policy today. The problems arising from the differences in the standard of living of the missionary on the one hand and his colleagues and congregation on the other, have been troubling us for at least a generation, but while we talk about it the difference gets greater and the gulf widens. The explanation is, of course, that the European standard of living both at home and overseas has risen rapidly during the last thirty years, and the missionary's standard has risen with it. In such a situation it is difficult to keep the missionary's standard stationary and thus depressed relative to the European standard around him; it is quite impracticable to depress it absolutely and so bring it within sight of the standard of the Christian community with whom he works. Indeed, some would question whether it would be right to allow a missionary's family to live in tropical conditions without providing the best available safeguards for their health and welfare; that inevitably raises the question whether the day of the familed missionary is not passing. The Christian home of the married missionary and the service of many a missionary's wife have been of recognized value in the Church's Mission overseas, but there is an increasing area of missionary service which today can only be fulfilled by the young energetic missionary (man or woman) who is foot-loose, which means independent of refrigerators, decent sanitation and even boiled drinking-water. When David Hill went to China in the latter half of last century he went as a single man. He drew no missionary salary, living on a small part of the allowance which his father made him. He led a life of simplicity in a small rented house in the busy part of the Chinese city. About 1880 when he was on furlough in England he appealed to the young men of Methodism to go out with him as lay evangelists, with no guaranteed standard of living, but only the bare necessities of life. There was a response to his Garibaldian appeal of about twenty men—some of them comparatively uneducated, some of them qualified doctors—and the Methodist Church of Central China today owes much of its strength to that bold adventure. It came to an end after David Hill's death for two reasons. In the first place the Missionary Society, though sympathetic, did not take any responsibility for the men who were sent out; they were maintained by funds which David Hill was responsible for raising. In the second place Hill, contrary to the advice of some of his friends, felt that he could not require from his recruits the obligation of celibacy which he imposed upon himself, with the consequence that with the passing of years

many of the men married, and so gradually became as expensive, and as immobile, as any other missionary.

There is in that experiment—which indeed is but the method by which the greater part of the Church's missionary work has been carried on through the centuries—an example for our day. We should recruit men who would be prepared to go abroad for a period of not less than ten years during which time they would remain unmarried. Their missionary training would be largely on the field within a community of the local Church such as would be provided by an *ashram* in India or Ceylon. Their allowance would be the bare minimum required. While an adequate base would be necessary, their lives would not be bungalow-centred, still less imprisoned by a Mission Compound. On the contrary they would have to be able to live hard, to live simply and to live near the people. I am not suggesting that there is anything new in all this. It is the old missionary pattern and it derives from St Paul, and it is still exemplified here and there in the lives of individuals in every missionary society, and more especially in many of our women missionaries; but during the last hundred years it has ceased to be the normal practice among men missionaries and has become dependent upon the experimental initiative of an individual here and there. The time has come when it should be the normal form that missionary service takes. Room would always have to be left for the somewhat senior missionary who, because of special gifts or training, is recruited for a particular post of responsibility. There is obvious need of such specialists in theological colleges, hospitals, and in other similar capacities. Their service may in some cases be for quite short periods to fill a particular need at some stage in the Church's growth, or it may be for a more prolonged term of years. Such people form an important part of the contribution which the West can make to the younger Churches, but always their numbers will be small and if their circumstances demand special consideration this ought not to blind us to the fact that the missionary who goes out to do the primary work of evangelism must go stripped of those material barriers which western standards of living create between him and the people to whom he ministers. Objection to such a proposal will certainly be made on the grounds that we are establishing two standards of living: the only answer to that is that there are already two standards of living within the ministry of the one Church, and the sooner the demarcation of those standards no longer follows a racial line, but rather a line of function, the better it will be for the health of the Church.

It is sometimes said that the task of evangelism is no longer the work of the foreigner, and should be left to the local Church worker. That is only the case where the foreigner is too foreign to be able to do it. In most countries the Church overseas needs to have the fires of its evangelistic fervour constantly stimulated. It has not got within its history the precious seed which John Wesley sowed within the Christian Church in all its branches in this land, and one of the gifts we yet have to make to the Church in Asia (if we have it within ourselves to give) is the compelling vision and urgent faith in the evangelization of the whole land. Without that impulse, which can still come from association with the Church in the West, there is danger of their settling down content to maintain the work already established, and never bringing within the focus of their planning the vision of a nation-wide Church. The

result of that kind of atrophy is seen in the situation which has pertained for centuries on the Malabar coast of India, and into which some of the more modern Churches of Asia are in danger of sliding. We still have a contribution to make to the Church overseas in the matter of evangelism, but it must be made in the classic tradition of the Church's missionary service; we need young men, mobile and expendable as paratroops, who should be told, as our overseas ministers are told at ordination, that the local Church gives them no guarantee of salary, but will supply their needs as it is able; men who will be prepared to accept that as an adventure of trust, sharing with the Church the hazards of rising costs and economic crises, and whose reward will be that the Church, undertaking full responsibility for them, will regard them as a part of herself—a privilege which few 'compound missionaries' ever have the joy of knowing.

The other point which needs consideration in seeking the full integration of the missionary into the life of the local Church, is that the Church of which he is now a member and of whose life he is to become an organic part and an expression, must bear the responsibility for his support and his welfare. This is a question which is full of formidable and apparently insuperable difficulties, but the situation is so urgent that we cannot allow the size of the problem to paralyse us into inactivity. We must make a beginning somehow; it will be imperfect and inadequate, but some move in the right direction, however inadequate, is of value and will in itself prepare the way for developments which today seem impossible.

Obviously the local Church out of its present resources cannot hope to support fully its present missionary staff on their present missionary salaries. We have already considered the possibility of a radical simplification of missionary standards of living; another approach to the same problem is the giving of an increased grant from this country to the Church overseas. Such a grant ought not to be rigidly tied up with the size of the missionary staff employed, so that it becomes in effect simply a matter of paying the missionaries' salaries by a round-about way through the local Church. To do that would certainly be better than the present system, but it has an air of unreality about it. On the other hand if there is no such tie-up some would fear that the local Church would dispense with the service of the missionary and use the money so saved for expenditure in other ways. Perhaps they will, but if we mean what we are constantly saying about 'partnership' we must accept the discipline as well as the privileges involved in that relationship. It is obviously the case that the local Church is the better judge of the number of missionaries it requires and of the question whether it can make better use of the man or of his salary. Doubts sometimes assail us when it comes to committing the decision of such a matter into the hands of a Synod in India or Africa. May they not take the easy way out and ask for the money and dispense with the missionary? Of course they may, and there will certainly be bad as well as good motives suggesting the decision. But it would be a sign of extraordinary self-deception in ourselves if we did not realize that there is an equal mixture of bad with the good affecting our own judgements. Are we not, for reasons of pride—both personal and national—and because we have a sort of spiritual vested interest in the Church overseas, are we not very strongly disposed to over-estimate the value and the indispensability of the missionary in any particular situation?

Our own judgement as to whether a missionary is necessary or whether a grant in lieu of him is the better arrangement in any given situation, is by no means an infallible judgement. Such a decision can only be rightly taken by the two sections of the Church acting together in consultation, with a bias in favour of the opinion of the local Church because they are on the spot. It is not suggested that it would be a good thing to replace the missionary personnel with money grants, nor would that normally be the judgement of the local Church. What is suggested is that we should help to make it possible for the local Church to employ and support missionaries, that we should help them to secure missionaries of the right type, and that ultimately we should accept their judgement on the value or otherwise of the presence of missionaries, without that decision affecting the amount of the financial support which we are prepared to give. To take a parallel from government, the Missionary Society has in the past filled the role of a Colonial Office with a large staff of Civil Servants who were appointed here and there as necessity determined. Today it is more in the position of a Commonwealth Relations Office. Through it we are able, in Paul's phrase, 'to make a fellowship with the saints' who are in Asia and Africa.

G. BASIL JACKSON

CALVINISTS, ARMINIANS AND MISSIONS¹

IN THE October (1950) number of *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review* there is an article of considerable interest by William J. Roberts on 'The Spiritual Legacy of William Williams of Pantycelyn'. William Williams (1717-91) was a great Welsh hymn-writer, known to us as the author of the famous hymn of which the English translation begins, 'Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah'. One of his missionary hymns—'O'er those gloomy hills of darkness'—was perhaps the first hymn in any language to strike the universal note of world evangelism in a definite and concrete form. It was said to anticipate the modern world-wide missionary movement. But in time and

¹ Calvin's famous definition of predestination is found in Book III, Ch. xxi, para. 5 of his *Christianas Religionis Institutio*, published at Basel in 1536. It is as follows: 'By predestination we mean the eternal decree of God by which he has decided in his own mind what he wishes to happen in the case of each individual. For all men are not created on an equal footing, but for some eternal life is pre-ordained, for others eternal damnation. . . .' In this he carried the ancient theory of Augustine to its logical conclusion, outstripping him in that Augustine taught the election of grace, while repudiating predestination to evil. Martin Luther went no farther in this than Augustine. Jacobus Arminius was the professor of divinity in the Dutch University of Leyden who charged Calvin's doctrine of predestination with making God the author of evil. These are the opening sentences of the famous *Five Articles of the Remonstrants* (1610): 'That God by an eternal and unchangeable purpose in Jesus Christ His son, before the foundations of the world were laid, determined to save out of the human race . . . those who through the grace of the Holy Spirit shall believe on the same His Son and shall through the same grace persevere in this same faith and obedience even to the end: and on the other hand to leave under sin and wrath the contumacious and unbelieving. . . .' From the period of the Synod of Dort in 1618, when the five points of Arminius were condemned and Calvin's doctrine approved, the term Calvinist—up to the end of the eighteenth century at least—was used to denote a person who agreed with him on the doctrine of Absolute Predestination. Those who agreed with Arminius in making predestination conditional—upon God's foreknowledge of man's merit—were called Arminians.

place—for it was published at Carmarthen in 1772²—it was very close to the important missionary conference at Trevecca in October 1772. The Countess of Huntingdon had convened her clergy and students to meet and consider means to send a missionary party to the back settlements and heathen nations of America. We do not know that this hymn was sung. But it is on record that it produced intense emotion when it was used at what was certainly one of the first great public missionary meetings ever held in London. This was on 22nd September 1795, in the old Spa Fields Chapel belonging to the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion. The foundation of what was later known as the London Missionary Society was the occasion.³

Williams belonged to the Calvinistic side of the Methodist Movement. So did the Countess of Huntingdon and her preachers. So did many of the fathers and founders of the London Missionary Society. 'The lyrics of Williams and the Calvinistic theology of the "Confession of Faith",' says W. J. Roberts, 'represent the element of a tension within the Movement, which, soon or late, would have to be resolved. What Welsh Arminian Methodism really did was to bring the issue to a head. Its Arminian theology was accepted as a challenge by the leaders of the older Welsh Movement. The immediate result was to sharpen their Calvinism, and there began a major theological controversy which involved not only the leaders but the rank and file of Welsh Nonconformity. It was only after many years, when the smoke of the battle had cleared, that the ultimate result was seen to be a triumph, perhaps not so much for Wesley's Arminianism as for the warm evangelicalism which was at the heart of the Welsh Movement itself, and which was represented by the popular hymns of "Pantycelyn".'⁴

If this was true of Wales, how far was it equally true of the Methodist or Evangelical Revival in England? Can we use the words of W. J. Roberts and say that the Arminianism of the Wesleys brought to a head the issue of world-wide evangelism? Was their Arminian theology accepted as a challenge not only by the older Dissenters such as the Particular Baptists but also by the leaders of the Calvinistic branch of the Methodist Revival? Was the immediate result to sharpen their Calvinism? In the great controversy which arose, was not the ultimate triumph with the world-wide missionary movement of the Christian Church? These are the questions which have been aroused in my mind and to answer them it is necessary to make a study of the events which led up to the rise of four great missionary societies at the end of the eighteenth century. These societies are the Baptist Missionary Society, the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, and the Methodist Missionary Society—to give them the names by which they are now known, and they are mentioned in the order of their foundation. 'Not by accident', wrote Bernard L. Manning,⁵ 'did the Calvinists and the Arminians share equally in the evangelical movements of the later part of the (eighteenth) century.' To praise Arminianism and to reproach Calvinism is the conventional judgement. In respect of missions, however, the rigid Calvinism and the warm Arminianism

² Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnography*, p. 1,284. (See also p. 856.)

³ R. Lovett, *The History of the London Missionary Society*, I.26.

⁴ *op. cit.*, pp. 330-1.

⁵ *Essays in Orthodox Dissent*, p. 192.

of the Wesleys were in substance the same and we may say with Charles Simeon in this great matter: 'The truth is *not in the middle, and not in one extreme; but in both extremes.*'⁶

If we take up first the story of William Carey and the Baptists, we can go back to the seventeenth century and trace the tension between Calvinists and Arminians which divided England politically.⁷ 'We must not forget', says Dr Harrison,⁸ that 'to understand the constitutional crisis which led to the Civil War, the first subject under discussion was the religious settlement.'

To continue very briefly this historical survey: after a brief triumph of Calvinism, the restoration of the monarchy and the reign of Charles the Second saw the doctrines which most opposed the Calvinist's point of view given prominence and honour by the Caroline divines, for there was a mighty relaxation of morals and a reaction against Puritanism. Arminian tenets enjoyed universal favour and popularity. A flood of persecution was let loose upon the followers of Calvin and the Quakers. James the Second renewed the attack but over-rode the will of Parliament, and a second revolution succeeded in completely overthrowing the autocratic power of the Stuart monarchy, for the Calvinists, who had not all as yet set out for America, made common cause with the malcontents from the nobility and went over to the Continent to press for the invasion of England by the Prince of Orange.⁹

But the reign of William and Mary, instead of ushering in the final victory of Calvinism in England, diffused a cold fog of religious indifference over a nation which for a century had been preoccupied and grown weary with religious questions. The Baptists and other Dissenters especially fell into the dark shadows cast by the extreme forms of a degenerate Calvinism. Of these, one was Antinomianism, which may be defined as the belief that the moral law is not binding upon Christians who are 'under grace'. By making man's depravity total and the divine grace irresistible, it denies the freedom of the human will and man's capacity to co-operate with that grace. By the doctrine of their final perseverance it teaches that the elect can never forfeit divine grace, however grievous the sins into which they fall. Having understood this point of view we are in a better position to understand the implacable animosity of Wesley to this form of Calvinism.¹⁰

Another shadow was the higher Calvinism or supra-lapsarianism. While the

⁶ C. Smyth, *Simeon and Church Orders*, pp. xii, 185.

⁷ In 1629 when King Charles the First sent a guard to force an entrance for Black Rod to enter the House of Commons, and while the royal messengers were knocking at the door of the House, the Commons passed its resolutions of which the first was: 'Whosoever shall bring in innovation in religion or by favour seek to extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism, or other opinions disagreeing from the true and orthodox Church, shall be reputed a capital enemy to this Kingdom and the commonwealth' (quoted in A. W. Harrison, *Arminianism*, p. 139). Arminian was a name given by the Puritans to anyone who failed to show enthusiasm for the orthodoxy of Calvin's *Institutes*, which since the Reformation had displaced Scholasticism and the study of St Thomas of Aquinas in the universities. Archbishop Laud was called an Arminian because he took pains to preserve the use of the *Prayer Book*.

⁸ *op. cit.*, pp. 139ff.

⁹ Maximin Piette, *John Wesley in the Evolution of Protestantism*, p. 94.

¹⁰ G. C. Cell, *The Rediscovery of John Wesley*, has shown that a radical anti-Calvinistic interpretation of Wesley holds undisputed sway only in the secondary sources (p. 16), whereas Wesley in the *Minutes of 1745* answered the question—'Does not the *truth of Gospel* lie very near Calvinism and Antinomianism?'—by saying: 'Indeed it does, as it were within a hair breadth, so that it is altogether foolish and sinful, because we do not agree either with one or the other, to run from them as far as ever we can.' Wesley evidently was not a man to run from a basic Gospel truth because Calvin taught it (p. 249). At the same time he took measures—e.g. by the doctrinal propositions of the 1770 *Minutes* which started all

infra- (or sub-) lapsarians taught that God decreed the salvation of some and passed by others to their damnation after the fall of Adam, the supra-lapsarians placed the divine decree of election and reprobation before the fall of man and the creation of the world. This was the scheme which made God the author of evil and maintained that men were virtually called into existence by the will of God in order to be saved, or in order to be damned. Such a theology had a paralysing effect upon the preacher. The notion, that for multitudes of men no salvation was either intended or provided in Christ, devitalized evangelistic preaching and effort, depriving men of any feeling of responsibility for extending the Kingdom of God. It was said of one Baptist minister, and this was in 1710, that he was so afraid of Arminianism and Pelagianism that he made no attempt to awaken the consciences of the unconverted lest he should despoil God of the sole glory of their conversion.¹¹

Among a group of Particular Baptists in the Midland counties of England there appeared the first stirrings of new life after the long winter of hyper-Calvinism, and one of them, Andrew Fuller (1754-1815), by publishing *The Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation* in 1785, had dealt a mortal blow to the system which held that it was impossible for any but the elect to embrace the Gospel and it was therefore useless to invite the unconverted to put their trust in Christ. From Fuller's teaching William Carey drew the inescapable inference that, if it was the duty of all men to repent and believe the Gospel, it was the duty of those entrusted with it to carry it into all the world. Thus it came about that the Particular Baptists, in spite of their essential Calvinism, led the World Church of Christ upon a new Crusade. Dr Latourette says¹² that William Carey began a new era in Protestant missions, not only in India but in the entire world. In Volume IV (page 68) he qualifies this by saying that he was the first Anglo-Saxon either in Britain or America to propose steps to bring their Gospel to all the human race. Why was this?

The combination of Carey's passion for geography and his warm religious

the trouble again—to keep the fatal leaven of current Antinomian Calvinism out of the great revival. He only struck from the shoulder against a degenerate species and had no quarrel with historic Calvinism (p. 263). It has been claimed that today Calvinism is practically extinct and that it was Methodism that killed it. In stating this, Dr Henry Bett (*The Spirit of Methodism*, p. 109) finds himself in the company of Sidney Dark, the former editor of the *Church Times*, who not long ago wrote in a letter to the *Methodist Recorder*: 'I hold John Wesley in high honour, because with Bishop Laud, he was responsible for rescuing England from the blighting horror of Calvinism.' Laud's anti-Calvinism passed through the Wesleys into the structure of Methodism. Cell has shown that Wesley was in revolt against the decidedly Arminian theology of his Anglican contemporaries. (I am greatly indebted to Principal A. C. Underwood's admirable *History of the English Baptists*, especially pp. 135-6 and 160-5, for this and the following paragraph.)

¹¹ John Wesley soon after his conversion became sensitive about similar views held by his friends in the Fetter Lane Society. He thought he saw them rapidly advancing toward the antinomian heresy. George Whitefield, on the other hand, found his mind opening in another direction. He was greatly influenced by the New England Calvinism when he was in America in 1740. He had felt and seen the influence of Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening. But in 1740 John Wesley had, after much hesitation and drawing of lots, published a sermon which he had preached on Free Grace and some stanzas of a hymn—the work of Charles Wesley—which attacked the doctrine of absolute predestination. There was something like a temporary estrangement of feeling. Some of the Methodists followed Whitefield. We can therefore mark the rise of two distinct currents, Arminian and Calvinist, destined to carry the Methodist Revival through the byways as well as the highways of religion in England, Wales, and beyond. These waters carried a spiritual awakening which nurtured the roots of several great missionary societies. Independents, Anglicans and Baptists—General and Particular—they were all affected directly or indirectly. (See A. W. Harrison, *The Evangelical Revival and Christian Reunion*, pp. 130-2.)

¹² *A History of the Expansion of Christianity*, III.281.

convictions led this young cobbler-teacher-preacher to a growing concern for missions. He prepared in 1786 *An Inquiry into the Obligation of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathen*. In this he maintained that the New Testament command to preach the Gospel to every creature was binding, not only upon the original apostles, but also upon the Christians of that present time. He continued to urge the project upon his fellow-Baptist ministers, and finally at the meeting of the Northampton Baptist Association at Nottingham in May 1792 he presented his convictions in a sermon which had as its text Isaiah 44²⁻³ and which contained as central phrases words which his hearers were not to forget: 'Expect great things from God—Attempt great things for God.'¹³ At Kettering on 2nd October 1792, as a result of Carey's sermon and perseverance, came the foundation of the Particular Baptist Missionary Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen. The story of how thirteen men made the beginning and contributed £13 2s. 6d. is well known.

There is a legend that before Carey went to India he was admonished by a gruff old Calvinist, the elder Ryland—John Collett Ryland (1723-92)—with the words: 'Young man, sit down, sit down. You're an enthusiast. When God pleases to convert the heathen, He'll do it without consulting you or me. Besides there must be another Pentecostal gift of tongues.' Yet by going to India and making his beginning, Carey showed that there was nothing unreasonable, wild, fanatic, or enthusiastic about his plan. He was only going to live among the people and instead of waiting for another Pentecost set himself to learn their tongue. What could possibly be a more sober, safe and—to those still under the spell of extreme Calvinism—a more rational way of proceeding? Not only did his vision prove contagious, but the pattern of work of those pioneers in Bengal proved the working model of all those who began their work in India and other places after them.

The next missionary society to be successfully launched in England was the London Missionary Society in 1795. Before recording this event one must express gratitude to E. A. Payne¹⁴ for resurrecting information about a previous missionary attempt which, though it failed, was not without its influence upon subsequent and more fruitful enterprises. George Whitefield's departure to America in 1769, and his death in 1770, are often connected with the fresh outbreak of the Calvinist and Arminian controversy. It is also true that his death placed the Countess of Huntingdon under the obligation of carrying out his will by which he had bequeathed to her an orphanage and estate in Georgia. 'Hitherto, Lady Huntingdon had confined her exertions to Great Britain. . . . But now her attention was directed to America . . . all the students labouring in England, Wales and Ireland were now called into the College in Wales, to form the Mission to North America.'¹⁵ The 9th October 1772 was the day appointed for prayer and fasting and dedication of those called to go to America. A party led by a certain Mr Piercy did embark for America at the end of October 1772. The earliest reports from that country caused the sixty-five-year-old Countess to write: 'Some great, very great work is intended by the Lord among the heathen. . . . *I can't help thinking but before I die the Lord will have me there, if only to make coats and garments for the poor Indians.*'¹⁶ But a series

¹³ S. P. Carey, *William Carey*, p. 55.

¹⁴ *The Church Awakes*, pp. 103ff.

¹⁵ *The Life and Times of Selina Countess of Huntingdon*, II.257. ¹⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 262-3.

of misfortunes—fire, a slave trade scandal and finally the revolt of the colonies and war with America—frustrated the attempt to carry on the orphan house and the more ambitious plans of the Countess.

This mission was not however without fruit.¹⁷ But its real significance is that it was launched during the height of the controversy between the Arminian and Calvinistic Methodists.¹⁸ John Wesley had started this by passing at the twenty-seventh annual Conference in London in August 1770 certain doctrinal propositions against antinomianism. It is true that Calvinists resented the aspersions and imputations of these offending *Minutes*, so much so that the Countess of Huntingdon called all her clergy to assemble at Bristol for the next Conference in August 1771 in order to make a protest.¹⁹ And as a corrective perhaps to the antinomian tendencies which she knew lurked in her clergy and people, she launched a missionary enterprise in 1772. In making this suggestion I have in mind a similar circumstance which is given as one of the reasons for the formation of the Church Missionary Society in 1799. This will be recorded later—namely, that the leaders of the Evangelical Party, all to a greater or less degree Calvinists, found their congregations deplorably tainted with a practical Antinomianism and devoid of fruitful works. The project of a mission to the heathen appeared to be the very thing to rouse self-denial, toil, and sacrifice. The Countess of Huntingdon also had the idea of sending two of her students as missionaries to the South Sea Islands, and shortly before her death on 17th June 1791 at the age of eighty-four, she showed great anxiety that this attempt should succeed and 'began to express her earnest desire that it might be accomplished . . . so warmly was her heart interested in this work to her very last moment'.²⁰ Her partner in this endeavour was Thomas Haweis, LL.B., M.D. (1733–1820), musician, chaplain to the Countess, and her executor.

N. CARR SARGANT

¹⁷ Negro members of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion came to Sierra Leone via Nova Scotia—cf. C. P. Groves, *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, I.206–7, 289; and *The Lady Selina: Commemoration Meetings* (1941).

¹⁸ There is a very full account in Tyerman's *Wesley's Designated Successor*, pp. 164–353. See also Abbey and Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century* (1896), pp. 355–65; *The Countess of Huntingdon*, II.232–50; H. Bett, *The Spirit of Methodism*, pp. 104–11; R. A. Knox, *Enthusiasm*, pp. 497–503. A. W. Harrison, *Arminianism*, pp. 192–222.

¹⁹ A rather feeble deputation headed by the 'Hon. and Rev. Mr Shirley' was admitted to the Conference, and on 9th August Wesley drew up, and with fifty-three preachers signed, a declaration which gave satisfaction to and was acquiesced in by Mr Shirley. The trouble was that some days before this, Fletcher of Madeley had prepared for Wesley a vindication of the doctrines contained in the *Minutes* of the 1770 Conference, and this had gone to press in Bristol. That Wesley should publish them after the apparently peaceful settlement gave great offence. Wesley had been grievously provoked by the domineering attitude of the Countess and let loose upon the Calvinists a very tenacious fighter in Fletcher. Shirley's reply produced from Fletcher *A Second Check to Antinomianism* and these *Checks* went on as first Sir R. Hill entered the field in 1772 followed by his brother, the Rev. Rowland Hill, and Berridge, until in 1775 Augustus Montague Toplady reopened the campaign with a bitter attack on John Wesley. He bore away the palm of contempt and bitterness, evil surmises and provoking speeches, while it was complained that Wesley's appeal (in his sermon on Free Grace in 1739) to all the devils in hell, gave a sort of infernal tone and lent a lurid light to the controversy. Fletcher, born in Switzerland and educated at Geneva, stood his ground and answered them all. 'Among the Wesleyan Methodists, he settled for ever all the questions of the Calvinistic controversy. . . . Calvinists themselves were led to his immortal productions to explain and modify, and to some extent, to change their unwarrantable doctrines' (Tyerman, *op. cit.*, p. 346).

²⁰ *Countess of Huntingdon*, II.501.

(To be continued)

Notes and Discussions

A COMMONWEALTH OF CHURCHES

UNDER this heading, Viscount Cecil contributed to the columns of the *Spectator* a plea for the co-operation of all who profess and call themselves Christians in resistance to the ruthless attack on Christianity by organized materialism. Coming from so eminent a statesman, who sits above the battle of sects and parties, and whose labours for international peace and world order have proved him a great servant of God and humanity, this appeal deserves the serious attention of the leaders in all the Churches.

Lord Cecil is not unmindful of the desire of many for Reunion, but though it may be a consummation devoutly to be wished, he acknowledges that so far the approaches have produced no substantial result, except perhaps to emphasize our divisions. He asserts that 'reunion involves compromise, and compromise threatens sincerity'. Therefore he believes that general reunion is impracticable at present.

If there is no early prospect of one organically united Church, what can the Churches do to withstand the onslaught which the massed forces of materialism are directing against Christianity? The attack is so intense and systematic that it can be overcome only by a closing of the Christian ranks in order to present a united front to the enemy. It is for this co-ordination and co-operation that Lord Cecil pleads. Rearmament for resistance to the military threat of atheistic Communism may be unavoidable and right, but, says his lordship, 'it is surely more right that we should do our best to strengthen our Christian defences'.

The argument has so much force and reason that it cannot be ignored by the Churches. How otherwise can we escape if we neglect this way of salvation? A military victory over the hosts of Antichrist would not drive out the evil spirit from men's hearts, and it would leave the civilized world in ruins. It is futile to try to avert one catastrophe by plunging the world into another. If the civilization which is founded on Christianity is to be preserved, it can only be by proclaiming the truth and faith by which we live with a united and convincing voice, and by proving that in the application of Christian principles lies mankind's only hope of realizing its heart's desire for justice, freedom, and peace. This is a task too high and hard for the Churches to accomplish singly and separately. Divided effort and dispersed witness will be of none effect in face of the serried ranks opposed to us. Nothing less than united action can suffice now.

Using the analogy of the British Commonwealth, Lord Cecil appeals for a similar kind of co-operative association of Christian Churches. The situation is so critical, the peril is so imminent, that action cannot wait on the far-off event of reunion. As the component parts of our Commonwealth, each retaining its own independence of government and judgement, are bound together by common aims and principles and the pursuit of a common way of life, and stand and fight together in the hour of danger, so must the Churches come

together and combine their forces if the enemy at the gates is to be driven back.

This is surely not an impossible ideal. Given the will, it would not be hard to find the way. The things that divide, precious and important as they may be to those who cherish them, are of lesser consequence than the fundamental and central beliefs that are common to every Church. The heart of the faith of all who call themselves Christians is the affirmation: 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, and in Jesus Christ His only Son our Lord.' In the acknowledgement and implementing of these truths lies the world's hope of salvation. If, in this time of crisis and challenge, the Christian Churches would, with one clear compelling voice, proclaim the Fatherhood of God, with its assurance of the brotherhood of man, and the lordship of Christ, with its promise of the universal reign of righteousness and peace, in men's hearts would dawn brighter hopes and fairer visions of good than anything the totalitarian tyrannies can offer. Why should not an attempt be made to achieve such a real and active co-operation?

In this dark night of the world, it is desperately urgent that the Church of Christ should be a light and leader to the peoples. It dare not waste time and strength on domestic differences and debates. Its business is to proclaim the kingdom of God, and the blessings that abound beneath that divine government. It may be that in the past the Gospel has been preached too individualistically, with too exclusive a concentration on personal redemption. The injustices and miseries endured by a large part of the human race failed to enlist the practical concern of the Church as a whole, with the consequence that people ceased to believe in the relevance of religion to the affairs of daily life. A leading article in *The Times* said: 'Undue preoccupation with a future life can easily degenerate into a self-regarding concern for personal salvation', and can be made 'the excuse for a high-minded refusal to enter the popular arena and play a constructive part amid the disturbing contingencies of the workaday world'. There is truth enough in that to give us pause. It is that refusal, however high-minded it may be, which has left the way open for materialistic Communism to capture the adherence of masses of under-privileged people. It thrives on poverty and misery and discontent, and delusive as its promises are, wins the support of those who see no other hope.

The only answer to this false and insidious doctrine rests with the Christian Church. It dare not stand aloof from the problems of politics and economics and racial relationships which are pressing for just and right solutions if mankind is to be saved from disaster. The Church must bring its influence and judgement to bear in every sphere where human rights and welfare are involved. To this end, the aim should be to secure Christian leadership in government, industry, education, and in all places where constructive influence can be exercised on life and conduct.

It is a high aim, but not too high if those who accept Christ as Lord and Saviour are prepared to do the things He says. In their common loyalty to Him they have a bond of union which should constrain them to combine for action in this critical hour. If Christianity is not seen to be a living and beneficent force in this world, no offer of other-worldly hopes of bliss will attract the masses. Lord Cecil's Commonwealth of Churches would be 'a vain thing for safety' if it were merely another council or conference for discussion. Neither

talking together, nor praying together, will effect anything, if it ends there. Co-operation means literally '*working together*'. While we can never cease to pray, it is equally essential to work, to serve, to strive in all possible ways to bring in the reign of Christ in human life. 'Praying and working are really meant to go together', wrote Dr D. S. Cairns, 'to supplement each other to assist each other. . . . It may be that our prayers are not heard because God wishes us also to work.'

If the Christian Church is to achieve the moral leadership that it should exercise in the life of the world, greater effort will be necessary than is at present apparent. That effort, if it is to be effective and triumphant, must begin in a manifestation of the power of Christ in the lives of those who call themselves by His name. It must issue in the co-operative endeavour of His Church everywhere to make God's will to be done in earth, as it is in heaven. 'We have turned what was meant to be a battle-cry into a wailing litany', said Archbishop Temple. It would be of untold blessing to the world if the challenge of the 'irreligious religion' of materialism were to recall the Church to its marching orders, so that, 'one in hope, in doctrine, in charity', it might go into action against the armies of the Marxist Midian. For only as men see the Christian way of life manifested in the witness and works of the servants of Christ, in the Body of which Christ is the Head, will they be persuaded to turn from their false gods to serve the Lord who is the true Life and Light of the world.

F. HAROLD BUSS

VON HÜGEL AND MODERNISM¹

THE Lives and Works of most scholars are often so little interrelated that to read the Lives after acquaintance with the Works is not much more than an interesting excursion. With Baron Friedrich von Hügel it is far otherwise. The first sentence in the preface to his major work, the great *Mystical Element of Religion*, reads: 'The following work embodies well-nigh all that the writer has been able to learn and to test, in the matter of religion, during now some thirty years of adult life. . . .' To learn and to test. As he began so he ended. In the introduction to the posthumously-printed volume on *The Reality of God*, we find the same emphasis: 'Over fifty years have been given by me to the practice and to the analysis and theory of religion. . . .' To have read the books only of this great spiritual writer without knowing something of the man himself is to have missed not a little of both root and bloom. Count Bedoyère's book does all that the written word can to make good such a deficiency.

Here, then, is the first full-length life of von Hügel. The author, the editor of the *Catholic Herald*, has had access to many unpublished letters and some forty volumes of diaries. The result is a book of 360 pages, well-informed, highly readable and, whilst appreciative as one would expect, balanced and, doubtless, fair. Eight pages of photographs add considerably to the reader's pleasure,

¹ *The Life of Baron von Hügel*, by Michael de la Bedoyère. (Dent, 25s.)

though the very striking portrait taken immediately after death, the folded hands grasping a crucifix, a portrait which forms the frontispiece of Dr Dakin's work on von Hügel, is not given us.

More than once we are reminded that von Hügel was 'all of a piece'. Yet four sides of his personality are fairly distinct—at home, in his study, before the altar, out in the world. Part One in the volume to hand provides entertaining, even intimate, glimpses of boy, lover, husband, and father. How this very German and German-looking young man, afflicted with life-long deafness through an attack at fifteen of typhus (not typhoid, as stated by our author)—how this rather over-scrupulous and nerve-harassed young foreigner managed to pull off a marriage with a beautiful girl belonging to the English aristocracy is a marvel, as much a marvel as that so free-ranging a spirit could remain a sincere and on the whole acceptable member of the Roman Catholic Church. Yet the marriage was a success and the Church 'appurtenance' never came up for question, though both were subject to strain.

To the principle mentioned above, that the life and work of Baron von Hügel are quite specially interlocked, there is, however, a noteworthy exception—the Modernist Crisis. In fact, von Hügel played a unique part in the Modernist controversy which so perturbed the Roman Church in the early years of this century. Yet not one word of all this *Sturm und Drang* is allowed to seep into the two bulky volumes of the Mystical Element which were in gestation during these years. Loisy, *l'enfant terrible* of the Movement, with whom the Baron was in constant intercourse at this time, finds no mention at all, save for a small footnote. Tyrrell, his mind born under Mercury, his temperament under Mars, a lovable but tragic figure, rendered not a little assistance in reading and giving counsel on the 'mountain of MSS', but, by agreement, he also is unmentioned among those to be thanked, etc. Here, then, is a period in the Baron's life to whose weary length Count Bedoyère is the first to give full and 'candid treatment'. It is to the eleven chapters which he entitles 'The Terrible Years' we must now turn.

The question which agitated the whole Christian world about the turn of the century, 'What place, if any, is to be found for modern biblical scholarship?', did not leave Rome untouched, nor her scholars unscathed. The *bêtes noires* of officialdom everywhere were the findings of an evolutionary physical science and the results of the historical criticism of the books of the Bible. Von Hügel, who had given much time to pentateuchal criticism and was the author of an 'advanced' article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* on the Fourth Gospel, was inevitably drawn into the turmoil. He came to be liaison officer, so to speak, among the forward-looking scholars in the Roman Communion, especially those on the Continent. This involved him in much correspondence, many tiring journeys, and frequent strategic interviews in Rome itself. Not for nothing was he son of a diplomat. But through the years appreciation of the brilliance of his friends turned to a consuming anxiety over their reckless excesses. In the end, devout son of the Church as he was and remained, even his own carefully-guarded actions caused misgiving in high places and he felt the need to walk with extreme caution. It is rather a sorry story. The Baron's evergreen optimism both that Rome would admit the light and that his fellow-modernists would maintain their anchorage in the Church and in personal

piety was not justified. Loisy, indeed, came to throw care and concern to the winds. Eventually, excommunicate and in lay attire, he was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour, but this gave far less pleasure to the long-suffering Baron than the ex-priest's abandonment of all real faith brought pain. Under the oppressive encyclicals many recanted. Tyrrell neither forswore what he truly believed, nor, like the harder-metalled Loisy, did he go into open rebellion. But he was expelled from his Order and denied the Sacraments just the same. And when he came to die, at little more than fifty years of age, this tortured soul with his 'nostalgia' for the altars whence they had banished him, was denied the formal burial rites of his Church.

Von Hügel never came under direct official censure. In calling her friend Tyrrell a 'martyr' and von Hügel a 'saint', Miss Maude Petre definitely suggested a measure of cowardice on the Baron's part. But Count Bedoyère has no difficulty in acquitting him of this implication. The Polarity of Life, which von Hügel taught, he lived. 'Costing' as the tension was, he remained loyal to both altar and study, to both Church and research. These chapters impart to the reader the strain of the times and do not make entertaining reading. But, looking back as we are now able to do, it is not the acid pen of Loisy nor the bungling sincerity of Tyrrell to which the whole world of Christian piety and reflection remain indebted, but to the layman, von Hügel, tenacious saint and fearless scholar.

These are days of indifferent proof-reading. If a second edition is called for there is a baker's dozen of printer's errors that demand correction. One of these must be mentioned here. On p. 228 to render the Baron's '*maintenant*' by 'not' is to make nonsense of an important sentence.

It has been a privilege to read this book. One of the delights has been the chasing of the author's references to von Hügel's writings. One may be specially noted. Count Bedoyère quotes from a letter to Miss Maude Petre. In Bernard Holland's volume of *Selected Letters* this takes up eight and a half pages—von Hügel at his very best. If our author can, as he hints, provide us with a volume of Letters he will assuredly add to the debt which all who have read this Life will be glad to acknowledge.

W. LONGDEN OAKES

SHADOWS AND REFLECTIONS

THERE IS much confusion in the use, in common speech, of the words 'shadows' and 'reflections'. Many, seeing a reflection of a dark object on the surface of the sea, call it a shadow. You may have a shadow and a reflection of the same object overlapping; you may so adjust your position that they coincide; it requires a little patient shifting of your position to separate the one from the other, but they are in nature distinct.

Shadows are generally more definite, more localized, in a sense more objective than reflections, depending as the former do on the position of the luminary, or of the object intervening, as the latter, the reflections, depend on the position of the observer, the subject. Reflections, outward or inward, may be, as to

Paul—and Moffatt—'baffling'. I may be the subject of unfaced fears, vanishing, visiting me again, as my outlook (and so my prospect) change; I may then open my heart to a 'ray of heavenly light', and say,

Away my needless fears,

And doubts no longer mine.

Not only do so-called shadows often turn out to be reflections, but shadows themselves are not necessarily bringers of gloom. Those *purple patches*, complementary in colour to the general tone of the bluish green, which from your headland eyrie you watch as they wander on the waters of the bay, *are* shadows, shadows of clouds that come between sun and sea, shifting as the clouds shift. The patches take shape from the clouds and take from them part of their spectrum colours.

Some shadows derive from *over-shadowing*, and some reflections transform the character. Gabriel spoke to Mary of how the Child should be born in her: 'The power of the *highest* shall overshadow thee.' And in a truly glorious passage (2 Corinthians 3) Paul describes how the Old Law which commanded, threatened, and condemned, 'dazzled' the children of Israel, their minds 'dulled', as its glory shone on Moses' face, which he veiled 'to keep them from gazing at the last rays of a fading glory. . . . But *we* [emphasized] all mirror the glory of the Lord with face unveiled, and so we are being transformed into the same likeness as Himself, passing from one glory to another—for this comes of the Lord the Spirit.' So the Holy Spirit, His banner of love over me, overshadows the soul, in-forming it with grace and truth, belonging to the glory—birthright of the Son of the Father, and crowning creation with the freedom of the glory of the children of God.

Shadows are not always troubles, or, if troubles, may spur you to retrieve your position. A miner comes up against a 'trouble', a landslide; 'a fault', says the manager, who teaches him to feel his way along the face of the trouble, till he finds his 'working-face' again. What seems to be a shadow between you and the one you love may be as a revelation of hidden grace to which you have hitherto been blind, an occasion for an explanation of something misunderstood or for the exercise of latent grace on your part.

From the feverish glare and scorching blaze of 'success' (Psalm 121*) a shadow may save you and give you time and retirement to cool your pride and clear your view, to recognize shadows of your own making misguiding you to the unmaking of your true self. 'Beware of idols' (appearances)—so Paul; of shadows cast on the wall by a fire in a man's 'cave'—so Plato; and now Tagore in 'Gitanjali': 'He whom I enclose with my name is weeping in this dungeon. I am ever busy building this wall all around, and as this wall goes up into the sky day by day I lose sight of my true being in its dark shadow.'

Often you would fain command the sun to stand still; be content that you stand still in its shadow or move in it at His command, that so, while you give such as you have, your shadow should, like Peter's, exercise a healing ministry. He who makes His sun rise on the evil and the good, will 'direct, control, suggest' your every move.

Chafe not because you are fixed in a lonely, 'God-forsaken' place; even in that desert you may be as 'the shadow of a great rock', a man of resource, a man to resort to, a woman apt to comfort the sad.

And, O Ancient Mariner, battered and embittered, if one may breathe it who having once donned the 'wedding garment' would never doff it more—Come out of the shadow of the Albatross you slew, out of that unforgiven sin of former days of dark, into the shadow of the Cross—'better than the Sun'. The Cross *will* shadow you, 'twill certainly darken your shadow, it will shame you, but will guide you, as, to your upturned eyes, it reflects, with no baffling reflection, the high light of Love Divine. Don't 'miss the land of Beulah on the way'.

HAROLD BULLOUGH

BIBLICAL STUDY AND EXPOSITORY PREACHING

AN EXCELLENT illustration of the way in which close biblical study can prepare the way for sound preaching is provided by the latest book¹ from the pen of one who, in the best sense of the word, is *homo unius libri*, as John Wesley called himself—a man of one book. Dr Ryder Smith is eminently a great preacher, and pre-eminently a student of the Bible.

It must be more than a quarter of a century since this veteran teacher published *The Bible Doctrine of Society*. This was quickly followed by *The Bible Doctrine of Wealth and Work*, and *The Bible Doctrine of Womanhood*. Since his retirement eleven years ago Dr Ryder Smith has continued the series with *The Bible Doctrine of Salvation*. Now he presents us with *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, and this is to be followed by *The Bible Doctrine of Sin*, and *The Bible Doctrine of Grace*. The reason for this trilogy may possibly be traced to the long years during which Dr Smith was lecturing to students reading for the B.D. degree in the University of London. In that examination the rota of subjects in Biblical and Historical Theology has prescribed in every third year the doctrines of Man, Sin, and Grace. It is not easy to recommend books which cover adequately the biblical treatment of these doctrines. Dr Smith's three books may well become text-books, though they leave the historical treatment to be covered elsewhere.

A comparison is immediately suggested with the late Dr Wheeler Robinson's brilliant book, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*. There one chapter is given to the Old Testament doctrine, one to the New Testament doctrine. Of the other three chapters, one sets out Dogmatic Anthropology, contrasting the Hebrew and Greek ideas of human nature, and then furnishes an outline of the doctrine from Patristic writers to the Reformation. A second estimates the contributions of Post-Reformation science and thought, whilst a third considers the Christian doctrine of Man in relation to current thought.

When we turn from this famous book to Dr Ryder Smith's we are struck by the limitations which the author has laid upon himself, but also by the fullness of the treatment within these narrower limits. Here we are not concerned with the development of the doctrine through the Christian centuries, nor with the relation of the material, so ably and completely assembled from every part of

¹ *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, by C. Ryder Smith, D.D. (The Epworth Press, 18s. 6d.)

the Bible, to the doctrines of Man involved in the most momentous debate of the present age. What we are presented with is an exhaustive examination of the Hebrew and Greek words employed by the biblical writers to express their thoughts about the nature of Man. Yet there is nothing that requires a knowledge of Hebrew or Greek on the part of the reader. All foreign words are transliterated into English, and the serious student of the Bible will soon see how impossible it is to master the meaning of the biblical doctrine without taking account of these technical terms used by ancient authors whose physiological and psychological ideas were so remote from our own.

Dr Ryder Smith's method is familiar to those who know his earlier works. He expects his reader to have an English Bible (preferably a Revised Version) open on his desk. I say desk, for this renowned biblical scholar is not writing for lazy students whose slippered feet are lodged on the mantel-piece while the body reclines in the depths of an easy chair. Let every reader be warned to 'gird up the loins of his mind', for this is not a book to be trifled with. It invites us to strenuous study; then great will be the reward. Every passage of Scripture that has any bearing on the subject seems to be cited, or given in a catena of references. The wise student will look these up. The terms are clearly explained, and as a result of this induction conclusions are drawn to sum up the teaching under the several headings.

The plan of the work is simple and original. There are three parts I, the Old Testament; II, From Hebrew into Greek; III, the New Testament. Under each of these titles there is a twofold division: (1) 'What a man is'; (2) 'What a man ought to be'. The first part investigates the Hebrew Old Testament. The second part studies the Septuagint—the Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament and the Greek form in which (with one exception) the books called the Apocrypha have come down to us. The great importance of the Septuagint is that so often the meaning of a word in the Greek Old Testament determines the meaning which we must attach to it in the New. The third part, which is rightly the largest section of the book, is concerned with the New Testament. The writer's aim throughout is to trace the historical development of the doctrine within each Testament. This is done, not by arranging the individual books in chronological order, but by observing the principal divisions. Thus in the Old Testament the earlier teaching carries us up to the rise of the great Prophets; the two later periods are divided by the Exile. The passages under discussion are assigned to their appropriate division in accordance with the general consensus of scholarly opinion. In the New Testament the divisions are the teaching of Jesus in the Synoptic Gospels, the teaching of the Epistles, and the teaching in the Gospel and Epistles of John. The Apocalypse is treated as a separate source.

A characteristic feature of Dr Ryder Smith's books is his avoidance of any reference to discussions by modern writers. This does not mean that the writer is not interested in them, still less that he is not familiar with many of them. Considerations of space partly account for this omission; probably also many of those for whom this book was written would be bewildered by the introduction of a multitude of names. There are a few exceptions to this general rule. For subjects outside the Bible references are made to Hastings's *Dictionary of the Bible* and his *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, and once to the

Dictionary of the Apostolic Church. Once Wheeler Robinson is mentioned with partial disagreement, and twice Moulton's *Grammar of New Testament Greek* is cited. There is also an interesting parallel drawn from a book about Persian thought. It is evident that the reader's attention will seldom be distracted by extraneous matter.

Finally, two examples may be given of the illuminating comments that meet us so often in this valuable book. 'The Hebrew knew nothing of abstract ideas which exist somehow in their own right. For him all perfection is personalized in God. Jeremiah's phrase "The Lord is our righteousness" (23^e) gives the point of view. Jehovah intends and commands and expects men to be righteous because He Himself is righteous. In other words, man is called out at this point to be like God—and, in his degree, may be like Him. Indeed, just in so far as a man is "righteous"—and the Old Testament knows of those who are—he is like God. "The LORD", "covenant", and "righteousness", taken together, are the three words that dominate the final teaching of the Old Testament' (p. 37).

The other example is taken from Dr Ryder Smith's treatment of the difficult sayings in the First Epistle of John: 'Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not' (3^e). 'Every one who has been begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God' (3^e). This is illustrated by Arnold of Rugby's refusal to believe that any of his boys could lie to him. He treated them as Christian gentlemen, and assumed that so they would act. 'He would hold up to them an ideal that they had already begun to realize in their way of life. A true teacher knows how and when to assume that his scholars are what he wants them to be. In effect he says, to use a current phrase: 'Be what you are.' It is the same with the great Johannine teacher. He says: '*Children of God*, some of you *sin*. Every child of God doeth righteousness and nothing else. No child of God *can* sin.' He adds the conclusion from this—'Every child of God since he expects perfection at the Parousia, "purifieth himself even as *he* is pure" (v. 3). In education, logic is sometimes a good servant but it is always a bad master' (p. 248).

We urge that this is in the best sense of the term a preacher's book. However wide a minister's reading ought to be, however varied his illustrations, whatever graces of delivery he may bring to his message in the pulpit, the foundation of all great preaching is laid in a thorough knowledge of the Bible and its abiding message. We hope that many will read this great book and find enrichment in its careful study.

WILBERT F. HOWARD

Recent Literature

The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church, by S. G. F. Brandon. (S.P.C.K., 30s.)

Are there new fields for inquiry in the study of Gospel Origins? Dr Brandon thinks so, and makes good his claim in an extremely interesting investigation of the effect which the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 had upon the fortunes of the Christian Church and the date of the New Testament writings. He wisely anticipates the criticism that he has allowed many of the old ghosts of Tübingen to stalk freely through his discussion. He claims that a close scrutiny shows that they were never truly laid. His main interest is concentrated on 'the tunnel-period of Christian history which runs from about A.D. 60 to 80'. On the evidence provided by St Paul's Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, he investigates the territorial extent and internal constitution of the Primitive Church, and dwells on the extraordinary silence of these writings regarding Christianity south of Palestine and especially in Alexandria. In particular, he draws attention to the unique supremacy of the Jerusalem Church in early days, and to the conflict of evidence about it between the Pauline Epistles and the Synoptic Gospels, as regards Christology and the question of the freedom of the Gentiles. From A.D. 55, he contends, a crisis of fundamental importance for the future of Christianity emerged. 'Each year from then saw the realization of Paul's conception of Christianity as a universal religion grow steadily more remote before the increasing control of Jerusalem'. This process was checked after the arrest of Paul on the revolt of the Jews in A.D. 66, and the fate of the Palestinian Church was sealed by its attitude to that revolt. 'The cause of this sudden and complete demise . . . was that that Church had identified itself too closely with the nation from which it had originally emerged and in Israel's virtual annihilation it consequently shared'. Among the repercussions brought about by the Fall of Jerusalem Dr Brandon traces the origin of the Synoptic Gospels, all of which he assigns to the period after A.D. 70, including, on slender evidence, the Gospel of Mark. In Mark he sees the reaction of some body of Gentile Christians to the overthrow of the Jewish national state, holding that it may fairly be regarded as 'a mirror in which may be found reflections of the mind of such Christians when they considered what that event had meant for them'. In the Lukan literature he sees 'the rehabilitation of Paul', and he connects the Gospel of Matthew with the origins of Alexandrian Christianity. This necessarily brief survey indicates, it is hoped, the far-reaching and stimulating character of Dr Brandon's investigations. Marked by much learning and fully documented, it brings forward old problems with a new interest, and it is sure to lead to considerable discussion. In general, it may be said, that while Dr Brandon fully sustains his main view that the events of A.D. 70 were of decisive importance, he pushes his hypotheses beyond the natural limits of the evidence, and commits himself to very speculative views. For example, he urges that Mark must be dated after A.D. 70 because the Evangelist represents the Jewish leaders as the bitter enemies of Jesus, and because of the implications of Mark 12¹³⁻¹⁷ and 36-37, of the disparagement of the kinsfolk of Jesus, the treatment of the Twelve, and the character of the Apocalyptic Discourse in Mark 13. None of these points compels us to date the Gospel after A.D. 70, and the many primitive features it contains point in the opposite direction. Dr. Brandon has written a work of great importance, unnecessarily radical, but always courageous and suggestive.

VINCENT TAYLOR

Logic and Language, edited by A. G. N. Flew. (Blackwell, Oxford, 16s.)

Nine articles, by as many writers, are here reprinted from philosophical periodicals, with an introduction by the editor. All of them are expressions of the latest philosophical movement in this country. An agreed name for the movement is lacking: some of its followers would call themselves Analysts, some Logical Positivists, and others students of Semantics. They attribute their origin largely to Moore, Wittgenstein, and Russell, all of Cambridge, and at present led in Oxford by Ryle, who contributes the first article in the volume before us. The starting-point of this vigorous and vocal group is the almost intolerable ambiguity of language. In this wide and luxurious field the members of the group move apparently at random, examining apparently trivial confusions. What they are trying to express is not so much a system as an attitude and a technique. The attitude is anti-metaphysical, and the technique consists in analysing the logical form of given assertions, the basic 'discovery' being that the grammatical form of a statement bears little or no relation to the logical form. Philosophy is reduced to the exercise of this technique, which, it is claimed, shows that most of the traditional metaphysical problems are false problems, arising out of the misunderstanding and misuse of language. All distinctively philosophical statements, we are told, are not about facts at all, but about the use of words. These views are being expressed with evident enjoyment, as bringing a sense of liberation from the incubus of past philosophical thought. Mr Flew is typical in speaking of Wittgenstein's *Tractatus Logico-philosophicus* (1922) as 'apocalyptic'. While the articles cannot be summarized in a paragraph, the point of each article lies much less in its particular conclusion than in its being an exemplification of the business of distinguishing logical from grammatical structure. An example given by Ryle is that the statement 'Satan does not exist', cannot be a predicative statement, since the very meaning is that there is no real being to be predicated. Where a name does refer to reality, the task is to find out just what it refers to (the study of the *thing* itself falling to science, not philosophy). Ryle holds that words alleged to express universals refer only to particulars, universals being 'bogus objects'. The other writers apply this method in such traditional fields as ethics and political philosophy. In the final paper, by Mr John Wisdom, which professes to handle the main problem of the philosophy of religion, I am unable to see any point at all, and wonder whether it is anything more than a *jeu d'esprit*. The articles by Findlay (on Time) and Waismann (on Verifiability) are at a deeper level, and can be read with gratitude and profit by those who do not belong to the group. But it cannot be said that the group has as yet distilled anything like a system of principles.

T. E. JESSOP

Nietzsche and Christian Ethics, by R. Motson Thompson. (The Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.)

'The spirit of Nietzsche's teaching, unconsciously or consciously, is very much alive', says the author. In other words, man is still trying 'to find his goal in mankind'. Dr Thompson's book is the result of an exhaustive study of all the writings of Nietzsche. In language terse and clear he expounds the main ideas of this strange thinker, and compares and contrasts them with the principles and precepts of Christianity. An interesting interlude is a chapter on the 'Psychological Implications of Nietzsche's life.' Dr Thompson gives whatever credit he can to any insights of Nietzsche, and singles out any features that are worthy of approval. Toward the end of his book he devotes a chapter to the exposition of the Christian Ethic as such. In view of the incidental comments made throughout the various chapters the writer might have been excused this large undertaking. He had already made it clear that the Christian Ethic implies 'freedom and service to others'. Yet he might

with advantage have developed his statement on page 58 that Christianity is 'a way of life which is the natural outcome of a certain belief in God', for this is so different from the traditional bases of most moral theories. We heartily commend this study, with its very comprehensive view of the teaching of a philosopher-poet.

E. W. HIRST

Conscience and Reason, by Grace Stuart. (George Allen & Unwin, 15s.)

For Mrs Stuart, conscience is neither 'the voice of God' nor 'man's greatest good'. It is rather the voice of the parent, Freud's 'super-ego'. Sometimes cruel and non-intelligent, its aim is acceptability in society. To be accepted and esteemed, conscience battles with instinctive forces, and these forces, driven underground as evil, turn into aggression and guilt. But a deep sense of unworthiness is intolerable to the ego, so the personality represses these emotions, displaces them, and projects them on to other people and on to society. The result is 'the mess we're in'—lust for power, the necessity of proving ourselves right, repressed guilt which blames 'the other fellow' for it all, and war. The author feels that an inner change is called for in man and in society, a change in which sex is accepted as part of the good life, and in which the super-ego harshness of the parent is replaced by understanding love. And love must be there, unqualified and un-earned. Only with this security can the ego breathe and mature. The church comes in for some hard hitting. It is true that the insights of psychoanalysis will ultimately affect some aspects of theology and moral philosophy, but it does not help the cause of mutual understanding to caricature the Church of today as a purely super-ego repressive force condemnatory of instinctual life. No mention is made of the therapy of the Christian doctrine of free forgiveness, the good news of the kingdom, nor even of the Church's emphasis on Love. Evidently the way of understanding love is a discovery of psychoanalysis! None the less, Mrs Stuart says much that needs to be said. She is a stimulating writer, and the thoughtful reader will welcome this arresting book, even where he cannot agree with it.

C. EDWARD BARKER

Pastoral Psychology: A Study in the Care of Souls, by Göte Bergsten. (Allen and Unwin, 15s.)

Books on pastoral psychology have recently been numerous, but this book offers something distinctive. The author is a Swedish minister and his standpoint is slightly different from that which is most familiar in this country. Next, while he treats the usual topics, it is with a different emphasis. The first part of his book deals with the responsibilities and limits of the task, and then with confession, unbelief, guilt, neuroses, and conversion. The reviewer, who knows Dr Bergsten's work in Scandinavia, can add his personal testimony that he does not write merely academically, but in the light of considerable practical work. The book is both a suitable text-book for students and a helpful guide to the minister who practises psychological treatment amongst his flock. The index of a book is often a guide to a reviewer, and one meets many books on this subject which quote almost exclusively from Freud, Jung, and Adler. The last named does not appear at all here and the other two only in moderation. Instead, we have welcome reference to a number of Scandinavian psychologists whose contributions are little known in this country. The psychological practice of the Roman Church very properly receives attention. That Freud's dominance is waning is shown by the lessened emphasis given to his teachings. No mention is made of Dr Trevor Davies's book on sublimation, which perhaps was issued after this work was written. Dr Bergsten, however, has missed little else of importance. There are fresh and suggestive judgements on a number of issues. To select one example,

Dr Bergsten remarks that unbelief is an individual attitude, having the attributes of a faith, but as a social-political reaction it becomes a compensation for religion. This is very pertinent to Communism. Altogether the book can be recommended as one of the best written on its subject.

E. S. WATERHOUSE

Self-Understanding through Psychology and Religion, by Seward Hiltner. (Charles Scribner's Sons, 15s.)

This book is worth reading carefully, for there are few books that deal courageously with modern psychology and yet recognize the place of religion in the full life. The author asserts that to understand our times we must understand ourselves. A formidable task! It demands that we merge the insights and aspirations of religion with the insights and technical knowledge of modern psychology. There are many who are lonely and anxious, whether we agree or not that modern life makes them so. For these, personal religion and psychotherapy are both active processes. Both are concerned with human relationships. Both demand a coming to terms with oneself and with one's fellows. Superficial readers about the emotions might suppose that 'to know' is 'to be able'. How necessary is the sense of perspective dealt with in the next chapter! Many an anxious reader may well grow more worried when urged to try hard. The really anxious overdo just that. Those who deal with children and young folks should read the chapters on conscience, social demands and sex. Though I take issue with the writer on the questions of freedom and peace of mind, I agree that emotional freedom goes hand in hand with inner security. It is good to find a wise plea for teaching about sex in its full human dimensions as a function of personality rather than solely as a biological factor. The reader with the courage to face the problem of becoming an ancestor may be nearer the ideal of living beyond impulse and custom. Whether his original purpose was to understand himself or help others, he would do well to take some closing words to heart. Knowledge is not the same thing as improvement of condition. If the reading of this book is carefully critical, it will not have been in vain.

JOHN WHEELER

Morals and Man in the Social Sciences, by J. V. Langmead Casserley. (Longmans, Green and Co., 12s. 6d.)

Dr Casserley exercises the two differing rôles of Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter and Lecturer in Sociology at the University College of the South West. In this closely reasoned book a theologian and a sociologist seem to be having a sustained argument with each other. Indeed, if the book had been cast in the form of a dialogue in the style of Plato, it would have made far easier reading. As it is, its perusal is not easy. A reader has to be continually on the alert if he is to be sure whether it is the sociologist or the theologian who has the floor. Occasionally the language flounders deplorably in abstraction. Here is one appalling illustration: 'In each of the two spheres the dimensions of the moral life are distinguished and defined, and in each dimension one of these categories overlaps all the categories of the other dimension, thus providing a point of contact between the two dimensions, and indicating the fundamental unity of the moral life itself.' Yet let no one be deterred from reading the book, because of lapses from lucid writing. The issues which the book raises have to be faced: What have theology and sociology to do with one another? Theology, that ancient discipline, sees life in terms of two dimensions: God and My Neighbour. Sociology, the babe of the sciences, tends to see life in only one dimension, the relations of man with man. Six lectures which Dr Casserley gave at the Bossey Ecumenical Institute, near Geneva, are reproduced in Part One of the present book, and the first three set out the issue. There are *two* dimensions of our

existence as religion sees it, but only *one* for sociology. The latter view is set out in a critical examination of classical ethics, not least Aristotle's. These are static. Christian Ethics are for beings who stand in a unique relation with God. They are therefore both universal and personal, and of the nature of man himself. To this Dr Casserley devotes the five chapters of Part Two of his book, entitled 'Man in the Social Sciences'. Does man, 'despite all that clearly links him to nature', possess other characteristics which just as clearly distinguish him from it? Dr Casserley keeps pressing this question home as he deals with Types of Humanism, and the concepts of Rationality, Freedom and Personality in the Social Sciences. His last chapter, a brief one entitled 'The Place of Arrival', in a sense brings the theologian 'out on top'. If the secularity of sociology prevailed, would not society be left without foundations? While there are no sociological reasons for men becoming Christians, yet 'the consequences of a state of affairs in which the citizens of Christendom cease to be Christians' might well be a cause of heart-searching both to sociologists and non-sociologists.

E. C. URWIN

English Life and Leisure—A Social Study, by B. Seeböhm Rowntree and G. R. Lavers. (Longmans, Green and Co., 15s.)

This well-produced volume of 480 pages deals with a subject of intense social concern. The late L. P. Jacks once said that the great problem of the modern world is not work, but leisure. Increased leisure is now enjoyed by almost every section of society, but is it being rightly used? The authors of this volume set out to examine this question. They have surveyed in fifteen chapters a large range of the leisure habits of the English people at the present time. One of them, by personal contacts very skilfully made, found out how 975 different people actually spend their leisure, and the first chapter gives a summary of 220 representative case histories, twenty of which were of young persons under twenty. The total impression made by the summary is thoroughly disquieting, particularly in regard to sexual licence, even though it does no more than describe what any experienced social worker already knows. The remaining fourteen chapters are a careful review of the subjects of commercialized gambling, drink, smoking, sexual promiscuity, honesty, the cinema, the stage, broadcasting, dancing, reading habits, adult education and religion, together with studies of leisure time activities in High Wycombe and in Scandinavian countries. On these it is impossible to comment in detail. Even with this long list there are some omissions—e.g. there is hardly anything about broadcasting. One criticism may be offered. Apart from the words 'happily and wisely', there is no fundamental judgement on the purposes which leisure should serve, particularly in an industrialized and mechanized age like our own. People go wrong in their use of leisure because they have no adequate conception of what to do with it. The nearest the book comes to the discussion of this fundamental question is in the provocative chapter on Religion. At the outset it is recognized that the British philosophy of life has been built up on the Christian religion, and on the ideals, values and spiritual dynamic supplied by it. But is this not a declining force in this scientific age? What are the ethical results of such decline? If there is evidence for decline in Church attendance, is that necessarily evidence for decline in religious faith? The authors raise these questions, but their discussion in a single chapter is inadequate and at times superficial. The Christian ministry is judged to be very unpopular, the Nonconformist more so than the Anglican. The devotion of the Roman clergy is praised, without a critical estimate of the authority by which they exercise their influence. The clearest note is a call for lay witness if religion is to revive in this land. What the laity are to witness to, is not so clear. None the less, this comprehensive review of English leisure habits will long be a standard book of reference.

E. C. URWIN

God So Loved the World, by Elizabeth Goudge. (Hodder & Stoughton, 10s. 6d.)

Though some New Testament scholars today would question the very possibility of writing a Life of Jesus on the ground that the material for such a biography does not exist, there is no sign that the succession of books on this great subject is likely to be interrupted. Such books in modern times have tended to fall into one or other of two classes. The author may be so convinced of the truth of traditional Christian orthodoxy that, bypassing all critical questions concerning sources and the authenticity of material, he shapes his narrative out of stories drawn indifferently from all four Gospels, and produces a book which, while valuable for purposes of devotion, is apt to leave modern readers with many of their problems unsolved. The other alternative is that critical difficulties may loom so large on the author's horizon that the picture of Jesus which emerges is drawn in such purely humanistic terms that the reader is left wondering how the central Figure in the narrative can possibly have been the object of men's devotion and worship for nearly two thousand years. Miss Goudge's attractively written book clearly falls in the former of these classes. The daughter of an Oxford Regius Professor, she writes from the standpoint of full Catholic orthodoxy and the opening pages contain an excellent summary in simple language of the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. The devotional character of the work is emphasized by apt Scriptural quotations at the head of each chapter and a prayer or religious poem at the end. Scattered throughout the book there are passages of deep religious insight. Sometimes a Gospel incident is expanded into several pages of vivid description (e.g. the story of Jesus as a boy in the Temple); at other times the incomparable words of a parable such as the Good Samaritan or the Prodigal Son are transcribed with little or no comment. If in writing a Life of Jesus it is legitimate, for example, to treat the Fourth Gospel in its entirety as historically on the same level as the Synoptists, or to ignore the Form-critical attack on the chronology of St Mark, or to fail to consider the difficulties aroused by some of the miracle stories, then it must be acknowledged that Miss Goudge has performed her task with reverence and discernment. But for the Christian who refuses to keep his faith and his critical judgement in water-tight compartments and believes that part of his devotion must be to love God 'with all his mind', Miss Goudge's interesting volume leaves important questions unanswered.

W. F. FLEMINGTON

German Protestantism Since Luther, by Andrew L. Drummond. (The Epworth Press, 22s. 6d.)

The chapter headings of this survey of four hundred years of German Church History are 'Scholastic Lutheranism and Its Critics', 'Liberal Lutheranism', 'The Pietist Leaven', 'The Reign of Rationalism', 'From Schleiermacher to Hegel', 'From Hegel to Harnack', 'From Harnack to Barth', 'The Territorial System Explained', 'Erastianism and Liberty in Prussia', 'The "Social Gospel" and the People', 'Catholics, Protestants, and the State', 'The Effects of the Territorial System', 'Reconstruction and Revolution, 1918-1948'. The book is full of interesting matter, and the author has read very widely. He is refreshingly free from traditional British, and particularly Anglican, prejudice: 'If German Evangelicalism has certain obvious failings, it has escaped some of the faults of the British Churches—the devastating taboos of Puritan ethics, the superiority-complex of Anglicanism, and undue emphasis on the use (or disuse) of certain liturgical practices' (p. 168). A good many names find, no doubt, here their first intelligible introduction to the Anglo-Saxon reader. Yet, for all its great merits, it is a book to be used with caution. As a good Presbyterian, Dr Drummond is naturally inclined to picture 'the Reformed (or Presbyterian) element in German Evangelicalism' as 'a rallying-centre for all who wanted

to see the Church spiritually free and vital' (p. 5), and to lay all the blame for reaction and frustration at the door of Lutheranism; to praise the Heidelberg Catechism and to underrate Luther's; to indict the Lutheran fathers for their intolerance and to ignore the Calvinist retorts; to defend the Great Elector in his unionist policy and to misjudge the stand of Paul Gerhardt. Orthodox Lutherans are not quite so sinister, and Pietists not all so beautiful, as we are led to believe; Elert's *Morphologie des Luthertums* might have been taken into account to restore the balance. One shivers a little at the description of Zinzendorf as 'certainly the greatest German Evangelical since Luther' (p. 73), and at the uncritical repetition of D. R. Davies's facile co-ordination of Adolf Harnack with Adolf Hitler (p. 229). Bengel (p. 67) was never Bishop of Württemberg, and Oetinger (p. 98) surely not 'an unsystematic thinker'. There are minor inaccuracies in every chapter, and German words and phrases, however brief, are persistently misspelt. Too much attention has been paid to what Professor X or Principal Y thought about German Churchmen and too little, one fears, to the sources. The account of the Church Struggle against Nazism in the last chapter is quite disjointed and inadequate. Here it might have been better to wait for an English translation of Wilhelm Niemöller's *Kampf und Zeugnis der Bekennenden Kirche* (1949)—and under the nineteenth century, for one of Barth's *Protestantische Theologie im 19. Jahrhundert* (1947). In the attempt to cover so vast a field, the tendency to generalization and over-simplification becomes, perhaps, unavoidable. 'It is a hopeless task to summarize in a few paragraphs Schleiermacher's *Christlicher Glaube*' (p. 112). The Index is very incomplete, and many attractive quotations in the text are given without chapter and verse. But with these defects mended and the references checked, this handbook will make a profitable introduction to, rather than a final verdict upon, German Protestantism since Luther.

FRANZ HILDEBRANDT

From Luther to Wesley, by Franz Hildebrandt. (Lutterworth Press, 16s.)

Dr Hildebrandt shows the enthusiasm of a man who has found a pearl of great price. The hymns of the Wesleys have warmed his heart and he must needs tell the world, and this is welcome indeed. *From Luther to Wesley* contains three parts. In Part I, headed 'Synopsis', to which the author refers as a contribution to comparative Protestant Theology, certain central doctrines, as understood by Luther and the Wesleys, are considered. Here, as throughout the book, more space is devoted to the Wesleys than to Luther. In such chapters as 'The Righteousness of Faith' and 'The Work of Christ' there is no difficulty in showing the complete agreement between Epworth and Wittenberg. Luther himself, no less than Wesley, insisted on the personal and individual reception of the benefits of Christ's passion, though the Lutherans have been much more reluctant to make this emphasis. The chapter on the 'Perfecting of the Saints' deals with a test question. The author rightly says that while Luther stresses the non-imputation of sin, and while here Wesley is in entire agreement, yet Wesley also stresses the non-committing of sin. Dr Hildebrandt wisely refrains from trying to harmonize their teaching at this point but his sympathies are clearly with Luther. In Part II, headed 'Synthesis', the claim is made that Wesley is the true successor of Luther. 'And can it be?' is a translation of Luther into English. Under the chapter-headings 'Joint-heirs with Christ', 'Fellow-workers with God', and 'More than conquerors', the author shows that the mantle of Luther had fallen on the Wesleys. There are still difficulties, as for example over the relation of Sanctification to Justification, but on the whole, the case is made out. Some readers will feel that in the criticisms of Pietism Wesley is portrayed as the author would have liked him to be rather than as he was—for instance, with regard to the second

blessing—and one reader, at least, wonders whether Dr Hildebrandt's severe criticisms of Pietism and the Pentecostal movements are in keeping with the catholic spirit which he so heartily commends in the Wesleys. In his insistence that against all tendencies to salvation by works it must always be insisted that salvation is through Christ alone, through faith alone, by grace alone, Dr Hildebrandt is right. Here Wesley is generally found without fault, but the danger of falling away from the faith is always near. In Part III, headed 'Harmony', a brief and suggestive comparison is made of the hymns of Lutherans and the Wesleys. On the whole one gets the impression that the author would be reluctant to follow the Wesleys at any point if it meant leaving Luther behind. It should be added that scarcely any attempt is made to appraise the work of other scholars in the same field. For instance, not to mention younger scholars, the only reference to Dr Flew's work is in a footnote, and there is no reference to W. B. Pope. Only Dr Rattenbury among Methodist scholars appears to have been carefully studied.

PERCY SCOTT

The Norman Anonymous of 1100 A.D., by G. H. Williams. (Harvard Theological Studies, No. 18, via Geoffrey Cumberlege, \$2.50.)

Dr Williams has made an exhaustive examination of the famous Codex 415 in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. It has long been known as 'the York Anonymous' although as far back as 1621 its *provenance* was assigned to Rouen. Dr Williams agrees with this and further assigns its authorship to the Archbishop of Rouen, William Bona Anima. This is still a guess, but the evidence certainly points in that direction. The tractates in this codex are of first importance in the Investiture Controversy. The author comes down heavily on the royalist side, postulating indeed for the *regnum* almost all that was claimed on the other side for the *sacerdotium*. Bishops, even Popes, are only to be obeyed in so far as they exhibit the apostolic qualities of charity and humility (although kings apparently are under no such limitation!). Rome's pre-eminence is simply a historical accident, for James of Jerusalem was higher in apostolic authority than Peter. The primary sacrament, moreover, is not ordination at all, but baptism, and it is this which makes every Christian a *clericus* and every believer a priest. If the author was an archbishop there is clearly good reason for his anonymity! Wyclif or Marsilius of Padua could hardly have been more radical. Dr Williams has done a very useful service to scholarship in making the content of this important manuscript more accessible, and we must forgive such neologisms as 'vicarial', 'scribally', 'interiorization'. His footnotes show a wealth of learning even though they are not always strictly relevant and are occasionally misleading. But he has established his place in the chain of what he would call 'learned opinion' on this surprising medieval manuscript.

A. VICTOR MURRAY

The Buddhist Way of Life: Its Philosophy and History, by F. Harold Smith. (Hutchinson's University Library, 7s. 6d.)

An attempt is made in this little book to deal with Buddhism from its origin to the present day in all its stages of development and complexity of schools and sects, and the attempt succeeds so far as is possible within so limited a space. It would not be fair to expect detailed discussions of particular subjects in such a book as this, but the style is so clear and crisp that an amazing amount of information is frequently condensed into a few pages. For example, in Chapter 11 a vivid sketch of the great Buddhist University of Nalanda, with its famous teachers and contending schools, is given in ten pages. Here we see representative scholars of the Hinayana schools consorting with the new Mahayana teachers. It is significant that for a period of

centuries, in spite of acute differences of belief, and heated controversies, these teachers were able to live together within the walls of the university. In Nalanda, however, the new Mahayana Buddhism grew into such a different religion that at last there was a gulf too wide and deep to be crossed.

Chapters 13 to 17 are especially worthy of careful study. Though the Chinese received Buddhism from India, they profoundly modified both its theory and practice. Mahayana Buddhism, as developed in India, denied not only the reality of all things perceived by the senses, but also of the elements of existence, which the Hinayanists accepted as real. Asanga modified this theory, teaching that *one* thing is real, mind without differentiation. This teaching is almost identical with the teaching of the *Vedanta* that the human soul is God. But the practical Chinese could not accept Asanga's theory. They believed the objective world to be real and especially that persons were real. To the Chinaman human relationships were of paramount importance, both inside and outside the home. The ascetic celibate life did not appeal to him—'the celibate monk was of less use than the silkworm'. Dr Smith also deals in a most competent way with the spread of Buddhism from China to Japan, and there is a good description of Chinese and Japanese sects. This is a very good book.

CHARLES H. S. WARD

Religion in Chinese Garment, by Karl Ludwig Reichelt, translated by Joseph Tetlie. (Lutterworth Press, 15s.)

It is a strange experience to come home from Communist China and find a book about China which *seems* to ignore the present revolution. There are, indeed, several references to 'the revolution' in its pages, but they seem to refer to the 1911 Revolution. Or else Dr Reichelt, from his Mission at Hongkong, could look at the Revolution with more detachment than we could inside China. He is one of our greatest authorities on Buddhism, and it is curious that in this volume his chapters on Confucianism and Taoism make much better reading. It is as though, having already written a masterly book about Buddhism (his *Truth and Tradition in Chinese Buddhism*), he felt it needless to give it again a great part of his attention. But we have never read anything so delightfully illuminating as his chapters on Confucianism. For perhaps the first time, a westerner has succeeded in making this curious philosophy credible. There does not seem to be any reason for including Mohammedanism and not Christianity. The Romanization of Chinese names is inconsistent and quite remarkably badly done. For instance, the Emperor who 'Burnt the Books' is variously indexed as Chin-she-huang and Chin-shih-wang. One must raise an eyebrow at the statement that, under Buddhism, 'among otherwise heartless people there developed at least a minimum of sympathy for animals'. We hadn't noticed it. But this is certainly one of the most readable books on Chinese religion that we have, written with real insight and with manifest authority.

E. TOMLIN BARTON

The Passion of Men, by A. Jeans Courtney. (Skeffington, 12s. 6d.)

In this book, now in a second edition, questions asked and answered in Hyde Park and Petticoat Lane are grouped under headings. A comprehensive statement is made under each heading, a question receiving separate treatment only when it is of special significance. The author ranges over such diverse problems as providence, war, social conditions, science, birth control, social evils such as drink, prayer and faith-healing, and the life after death. Mr Courtney writes with an engaging frankness and the power of logically developing an argument. Above all he expresses his idea in clear, forcible English. It is a strength rather than a weakness that he has

his own convictions, especially on social issues, even where Christians are not themselves agreed. Knowing his own mind, he sets out determinedly, by judicious use of argument, references to other writers, and occasional homely illustration, to carry the reader with him. Whilst he has no doubt used his answers to questions in the open-air as the basis of his present book, he has gone to considerable trouble to make them as full and explicit as possible. While this is not a book for the student, it is interesting and often illuminating.

MALDWYN EDWARDS

The Church Youth Club, by Leonard P. Barnett. (The Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.)

This is very definitely the writing of an enthusiast! Mr Barnett believes in modern Youth (against all its detractors), and in the Club Method for Youth (against all comers)! His book is vigorous apologetic, written with the knowledge that there are still those unconvinced about the value of the club technique. Its polemical quality in some way reduces the book's usefulness; parts are argumentative and critical to a degree that will fog the ordinary reader. None the less, when Mr Barnett writes of the aims of a Christian Youth Club, of the principles that should guide its activities, and of the qualities needed in its leader, he writes with deep insight and shrewd judgement. A feature of the book is a most useful appendix, outlining methods and results in 150 typical Methodist Youth Clubs over a period of three years. This is the kind of factual information many have been waiting for. It indicates, for example, that approximately 1,000 young people are now in the Membership of the Methodist Church who would most likely not have been there but for the existence of these 150 clubs; that 211 local preachers have been enrolled from the same clubs; over 1,300 Sunday-school teachers; 26 ministers, and so on. What is needed now is a correlation of the comparative figures from such organizations as the Boys' Brigade, the Scouts and Guides, the Wesley Guild. For the fact is that the Club method is one among many; and that (given the right leadership) all of them produce satisfying results. Here are three questions—(1) Why, when Mr Barnett can write as vividly and clearly as he does, must so much of the book be wordy and tangled? (2) Isn't it unfortunate that Mr Barnett, Secretary of the Methodist Youth Department, in which one of the biggest units is the Wesley Guild, has only one reference to it, and that in the past tense? (3) Couldn't the number of initials (used to signify various Movements) be reduced in the second edition?

WILFRED WADE

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

The Sober Truth—Alcoholic Realities, by Lincoln Williams (Edgar Backus, 44, Cank Street, Leicester, 6s.). *Freedom in Action*, by Peter R. Ackroyd (Independent Press, 3s. 6d.). *A Meditation on Heaven* (Friends House, 6d.), by R. L. Carrick Smith. *Prophetic Quakerism*, by Lewis Benson (Friends House, 1s.). *The Membership of Children in the Society of Friends* (Friends House, 9d.), by Stephen J. Thorne. *Assembly Digest, 1951* (Independent Press, 9d.). *The Life and Person of Jesus Christ* (S.P.C.K., 1s. 9d.), by H. E. W. Turner. *The Final Coming of Christ* (Epworth Press, 1s.), by J. E. Eagles. *The Economic and Moral Consequences of British Rearmament* (Friends House, 6d.), by William H. Marwick.

From My New Shelf

N.B.—For lack of space it has only been possible to give short notices of a number of important books.

The Saving History, a Study of Old Testament Crises in relation to modern problems, by J. R. Coates (Lutterworth Press, 3s. 6d.). The Christian doctrine of history may be summed up as 'theocracy issuing in Christocracy'. But what does this mean for today? In this small book Mr Coates shows what the Old Testament has to say in reply, promising another such book on the New Testament. Here he deals first with nation and law, claiming that a nation should be a church! Next, there are chapters on 'Religion and Politics' and 'The Prophet as Miracle'. In the latter he seems to me to have insufficiently developed his theme. Then, in two excellent and original chapters, the best in his book, he shows how Daniel (which he puts with the Wisdom Books) and Job are replies to the challenge of humanism. Finally, he shows how the Old Testament doctrine of theocracy underlies the teaching of the New, and not least the teaching of Jesus. This bald summary is jejune. Let a thoughtful Christian turn to Mr Coates's book itself and the jejune will vanish in his rear! Here theocracy leaves 'the schools' and springs to lusty life. While experts may challenge a detail or two, for this small book the word 'masterly' is for once apt.

Hymns of the Temple, by Norman Snaith (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.). Dr Snaith begins with a chapter on the Psalter as a whole. Here his account of the Ugaritic psalms and of the probable connexion of the five Books of the Psalter with the Pentateuch in Synagogue worship are specially welcome. In the larger part of the book the author takes Psalms 42-3, 44, 46, 50, and 73 in turn, shows the meaning of the Hebrew, describes the historical background as he sees it, and expounds their perennial value, sometimes with their New Testament complement. I could wish to discuss a few points with Dr Snaith—but then I prefer books that provoke discussion. I shall hope for more of his thorough, clear, and helpful expositions.

The Lord's Prayer, by E. F. Scott (Charles Scribner's Sons, 12s. 6d.). There is a little repetition in this book, and there are sentences that one would challenge. For instance, if Jesus taught that every prayer should be brief, why did He Himself, at least once, spend 'all night in prayer', and, if He meant that all prayer should be simple, what of Paul's prayer in Ephesians 1¹⁸? But this book is worthy of the veteran expositor who wrote it. He tells us that the aged Carlyle confessed that the Prayer was beyond his plumbing. This is true of every man, but Dr Scott has sunk his plummet very deep. After a chapter on 'Jesus' Conception of Prayer', there is one on 'The Records', where the author, surely rightly, prefers Matthew's version to Luke's. Next there follows 'The Background' and then 'The Originality of the Prayer'—a very fine chapter. Finally there are chapters on 'The Seven Petitions' (where for myself I should count four) and 'The implications'. Dr Scott speaks with a certain intimacy, often saying 'we' and sometimes 'you'. This is as it should be, for, while he begins with scholarship, he leads his readers step by step to the point where they are ready to kneel.

Philippians and Colossians, Introduction and Commentary, by F. C. Synge (S.C.M., 6s.). In this Torch Commentary Mr Synge, arguing that Philippians was written from Ephesus and that Paul did not write Colossians, comes rather too near *ex parte* statements. In his exposition he is a little prone to the *Ipse Dixit*—e.g. under 'form' in Philippians 2⁶ and under 'wives, submit yourselves' in Colossians 3¹⁸. He thinks that 'they that are of Caesar's household' may be a jocular way of saying 'fellow-prisoners', and that Paul is 'peevish' in Philippians 2³⁰. He thinks that the myths of early peoples were of the same type as Plato's. But there is a good deal on the other side—e.g. a suggestive comparison of Adam with Christ under Philippians 2⁵.

Time and Mankind, by S. G. F. Brandon (Hutchinson & Co., 18s.). This book might be described as a large-scale survey of historical answers to the question, 'Has time (and, with it, change) a meaning?' After a chapter on primitive man, Dr Brandon first exhibits the attitudes of Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Israel to the question, and then those of Hellenic Culture, Rome, and New Testament Christianity. For every one of his chapters he quotes a whole array of books. For detailed review every chapter would need its own expert. Under the New Testament he reaches the disputable conclusion that 'by its fortuitous incorporation of what was essentially a nationalistic philosophy of History with a cultus of personal salvation Christianity brought into its *Weltanschauung* an element of radical inconsistency'. In other words, the two Testaments are disparate. Dr Brandon holds that today, as with Marcus Aurelius, it is 'Providence or Atoms?', and suggests that 'along the way of the reinterpretation of the Christian *mythos* lies the surest hope of preserving or renewing the spiritual foundations' of Western Culture. The use of the word '*mythos*' shows the angle from which Dr Brandon surveys the New Testament. But this book is a real contribution to the present discussion of the Christian doctrine of history.

Man is not Alone, by Abraham Joshua Heschel (Farrar, Strauss and Young, New York, \$3.75). This 'philosophy of religion' begins with 'the sense of the ineffable' and proceeds to 'insights from the dimension of the ineffable'. These, unlike the phrase itself, are not obscure. A philosopher could challenge this appeal to 'insights' at many points—e.g. on the basis assigned to ethics. But the value of the book is that it shows the beliefs of a Jew who, by-passing the detailed rules of the Pentateuch, appeals to the Prophets and to Rabbinic illustrations of their principles. In this *confessio fidei* Dr Heschel, true to the Hebrew spirit, deals with 'How to live' as well as 'What to think'. For him the Bible is 'the story of God's quest of the righteous man', and it is for Israel or a Remnant of Israel to 'satisfy that quest by making every man a righteous man'.

Some Tendencies in British Theology, from the publication of Lux Mundi to the present day, by John Kenneth Mozley (S.P.C.K., 10s. 6d.). When Dr Mozley died, he had carried this work as far as 1940 or thereabouts. After an Introduction (mainly about Pusey), he traces Anglican teaching through its leading exponents in three chapters, adding Congregationalists at various points. In a fourth chapter he deals with 'The Scottish Tradition'. Everywhere he emphasizes the value of theologians' teaching rather than their errors—of course, as he counts value and errors. His chief interest is in the doctrines of the Person and Work of Christ. He admits McLeod Campbell's great influence in Scotland, though he seems to deny it in general (p. 26). His eminent gift of elucidation is as manifest as ever in this latest book. It is, of course, incomplete when he writes, for instance, of Bishop Barnes.

Philip Doddridge, 1702-51, edited by Geoffrey F. Nuttall (Independent Press, 7s. 6d.). In this bicentenary volume six experts describe and illuminate both the life of this leader and saint, and his 'contribution to English Religion' as hymn-writer, fore-runner of Carey, educationalist, and assured but tolerant theologian. In this book 'the Old Dissent' springs to life. But are Doddridge's hymns 'happier' than Charles Wesley's? (p. 74). N.B. Philip smoked!

John Wesley's Prayers, edited by Frederick C. Gill (Epworth Press, 5s.). In 1733 Wesley published his first book, 'A Collection of Forms of Prayer for Every Day in the Week'. Later he issued 'A Collection of Prayers for Families', and he included in his 'Christian Library' an abridgement of 'Devotions in the Antient Way of Offices', a prayer manual by John Austin, a Catholic lawyer of Cromwell's time. Mr Gill has selected prayers from all three, abbreviating a good many and making some 'small revision or adaptation' here and there. He has rightly omitted Wesley's 'Prayers for Children'.

The Greatness of God and the Dignity of Man, by Percy Leonard (Skeffington, 8s. 6d.). Two devotional anthologies, each arranged for a month, the one exhibiting the manifold 'Greatness of God' and the other His manifold grace in Christ to man. The selection is chiefly from English writers of the last hundred years, with some preponderance of Anglicans.

The Gospel of the Kingdom in the Sermon on the Mount, by John Gordon Jameson (Wm. Hodge & Co., 5s.). Here Mr Jameson follows his book on the Beatitudes with one on the rest of the Sermon on the Mount. Dividing it into sentences or paragraphs, he preaches a kind of sermon on each, commenting on most verses as he goes along. I don't always agree with him, and surely Greek words printed in English letters should be italicised. But Mr Jameson has a clear eye and his book will serve practising Christians well.

A Great View, by the late Eric S. Loveday (Skeffington, 7s. 6d.). Readers of these 'sermons and addresses', almost all delivered at St Martin-in-the-Fields, can rely on surprise, insight, and challenge. They will, however, need to do more thinking than with some preachers—but Mr Loveday with his 'live' mind, is worth it. (The first sermon does not seem to me the best.)

Abnormalities in Normal Children, by C. W. Valentine (National Children's Home, Highbury Park, N.5, 4s. 6d.). I like this Convocation Lecture because, on the whole, Dr Valentine, an acknowledged expert on the psychology of children and adolescents, agrees with me! But, of course, he 'gives chapter and verse' from much sifted evidence for his conclusion—that, while very many children, otherwise normal, are at some time and in some way abnormal, the abnormality need not, and often does not, persist.

An Introduction to South African Methodists, by Leslie A. Hewson (Methodist Book Room, Cape Town). A brief account of the spread of Methodism in the Union of South Africa, from the gathering of a handful of soldiers in 1802 till today, with special emphasis on the 'pioneers' of the advancing church from Barnabas Shaw onwards.

For the Healing of the Nations, by Mary I. M. Causton (Carey Kingsgate Press, 5s.). About two-thirds of this 'Story of British Baptist medical Missions, 1792–1951', is given to the last half century, for the Medical Auxiliary of the Baptist Missionary Society keeps its jubilee this year. Its fields are India, China and what might be called 'Congo-land'. Schweitzer is not the only medical missionary on the Congo.

Handbook of Denominations in the United States, by Frank S. Mead (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via Epworth Press, \$2.75). A brief encyclopædia of the 236 churches and other religious bodies, both Christian and non-Christian, in the United States. The articles deal with the history, doctrine and organization of each denomination. Alongside many divisions there have been not a few fusions. Most of the denominations are small, but seventeen have over a million.

The Poetry and Career of Li Po, 701–762 A.D., by Arthur Waley (Geo. Allen & Unwin, 8s. 6d.). Much is known of the life and times of this poet, as Dr Waley abundantly shows, translating many poems *en route*. Li Po seems to have been a sort of gentleman troubadour, who usually began a song from some 'ordinary' episode in his own and his friends' life. While he has a good deal about the pleasures of drink, he offers many fine examples of the way in which Chinese artists portray men by describing nature.

Stolen Fire, a Study of Genius, by Dallas Kenmare (Williams & Norgate, 8s. 6d.). For Miss Kenmare the artist is 'the genius', and the poet is the artist *par excellence*. With the help of Jung and others she maintains that such a genius is 'creative' and lives on two 'planes', which differ in *kind*. From the higher he brings 'fire from heaven' to ordinary men, who live on the lower. This means tension and sacrifice

and often tragedy, both for the genius and others. The book abounds in examples of this. Even in ethics there is a difference in *kind* between the two 'planes'. For instance, George Sand, though her lovers were many, was a pure woman. This, of course, raises the issue of ultimate values in ethics, but Miss Kenmare does not so much as mention the subject. For her ignorance is *the* foe, not sin. Other questions arise—e.g. Which artists have genius?, and Why artists only? But Miss Kenmare has told part of the truth with earnestness, ability and skill.

The Covenant, a Novel about Abraham, by Zofia Kossak, translated by H. C. Stevens (Wingate, 15s.). Mrs. Kossak has begun from Genesis and read her archæology, but I cannot say that the 'atmosphere' of her novel is the 'atmosphere' of the Bible stories. To illustrate from a detail, in the novel the dying Abraham says to Isaac 'I shall die, but mine eyes will see my Lord'. This is the anachronism of the heart. Yet the novel is interesting.

The Parliament of France, by D. W. S. Lidderdale (Hansard Society, 18s.). In this exact and detailed description of the constitution of the Fourth Republic in its many parts, the writer enlivens the subject by asking once and again 'Why is this?' and 'How does this work?' He begins with an account of 'The Historical Background' from the time when the States-General met in 1789 and remembers this throughout.

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

The Harvard Theological Review, April (Harvard University Press, via Oxford Press, \$1.00).

Along Highways and Byways (*re* early Christian books, both in the Canon and out of it), by Morton E. Enslin.

The Icons before Iconoclasm, by Norman H. Baynes.

Theology Today, July (Princeton, via B. H. Blackwell, Oxford, 3s. 6d.)

The New Humanism and the Humanism of God (translation), by Karl Barth.

Articles on Euthanasia by John Sutherland Bonnell and Joseph Fletcher.

Justification and Christian Ethics, by Otto A. Piper.

Church, State and Freedom, by John A. Mackay.

The Scottish Journal of Theology, June (Oliver and Boyd, 3s. 6d.)

Philosophers and Theologians on the Freedom of the Will, by D. M. Baillie.

The New Barth, by Emil Brunner.

The Number of the Sacraments, by A. Raymond George.

Existentialism in France (especially Sartre and Marcel), by J. Mathers.

A Study of Micah, 6, 1-8, by G. W. Anderson.

The Expository Times, June (T. & T. Clark, 1s. 6d.)

Christ's Attitude to Institutions, by George B. Caird.

Living Issues in Biblical Scholarship: The Church and the Ministry, by Vincent Taylor.

The Baptism of our Lord, by F. E. Lownds.

do, July.

The Mind of Christ: V. Whom Jesus Loved, by John R. Gray.

Apollos and the Logos Doctrine, by R. L. Archer.

'Faith' in James and its Bearings on the Date of the Epistle, by Cyril H. Powell.

do, August.

The Mind of Christ: VI. The Rule of the Father, by W. H. Cadman.

The Old Testament and the Approach to Religion, by John A. F. Gregg.

Temple or Shrine (in the New Testament)?, by G. Lacey May.

The Hibbert Journal, July (Allen and Unwin, 3s. 6d.)

The Christian Attitude to Economics, by Sir Wilfrid Garrett.

Theology in our Era, by John Macleod.

Has Psychology Explained Religion Away?, by R. H. Thouless.

Meaning and Analogy (*re* Logical Positivism), by Geoffrey Ashe.

The International Review of Missions, July (Oxford Press, 3s. 6d.)

Church and State in India, by John W. Sadiq.

Christians and Communism in Asia, by John C. Bennett.

The 'New Education' (on Gandhi's plan) and the Rural Community in India, by Marjorie Sykes.

The Congregational Quarterly, July (Independent Press, 4s. 6d.)

Congregationalism and the Historic Faith, by W. Gordon Robinson.

Nicolas Berdyaev, by J. B. Coates.

The Nature and Power of (Congregationalist) Councils, by Douglas Horton.

Christianity and Race in South Africa, by Edgar H. Brookes (South African Senator).

Our Contributors

F. HAROLD BUSS

Hon. Secretary of the Methodist Local Preachers' Mutual Aid Association, and twice President (1932-3 and 1949-50). Author of *The Fruit of the Light*, and joint author of *A Goodly Fellowship*, the history of the M.A.A.

HAROLD BULLOUGH

Methodist Minister. Educated Manchester Grammar School; Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Principal, Central College, Jaffna, Ceylon (1916-21).

JOHN FOSTER
M.A., D.D.

Left Handsworth College in 1922 for missionary service in South China. Appointed to the staff of the Union Theological College, Canton, to teach Church History (1926). On return to Britain became Professor of Church History in the Selly Oak Colleges, Birmingham (1937). Appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Glasgow (1949). Author of several books on China, including *The Church of the T'ang Dynasty* (S.P.C.K.); and on Church History, including *Then and Now*, *World Church*, and (September 1951) *After the Apostles* (all S.C.M. Press).

NORMAN GANTZER

An Anglo-Indian—educated in India and an *alumnus* of Calcutta University. Retired Civil Servant of the Indian Services at the Headquarters of the Government in Simla. Interests: music, temperance, foreign missions, and international conciliation.

G. BASIL JACKSON
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Manchester University and Wesley House, Cambridge. Missionary in Ceylon since 1926. Chairman of the South Ceylon District for a number of years until 1950.

WILBERT F. HOWARD
F.B.A., M.A., D.D.

Principal of Handsworth College, Birmingham, and Professor of New Testament Language and Literature and Classics; Lecturer in Hellenistic Greek, Birmingham University. President Methodist Church 1944 and 1945. Awarded the Burkitt Bronze Medal of the British Academy, 'for distinguished contributions to Biblical studies'. Author of *The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation: Christianity according to St John*. Contributor to theological journals.

W. S. KELYNACK
M.A.

Methodist minister. The son of the late Rev. Nicolas Kelynak. Educated at Manchester Grammar School and St John's College, Cambridge, graduating in 1902. Hobbies: Biography and Hymnology. Author of *Making Melody* (1924) and *The Companion to the School Hymn-book of the Methodist Church* (1950).

KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE
M.A., D.D.

Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Yale University, since 1927. Author of many books, including: *The Christian Basis of Democracy*, *Toward a World Christian Fellowship*, *History of the Expansion of Christianity* (7 vols.); *Histories of China, Japan, and the Far East*; and important works on Christian Missions, etc.

WILLIAM F. LOPTHOUSE
M.A. (OXON)
D.D. (ABERDEEN)

Principal and Tutor in Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion, Handsworth College, 1925-40; President Methodist Church, 1929-30. Author of *F. H. Bradley*, and many books on Theology.

ALEXANDER MCCREA
M.A., D.D.

Methodist minister in Ireland (16 years); Tutor and then as Principal in Edgehill Theological College for 23 years. Author of *The Mind of Christ*, *The Work of Jesus in Christian Thought*, and *Things concerning the Kingdom*. Chaplain at Stranmillis Training College, Belfast, and Methodist Chaplain to the Parliament of Northern Ireland.

W. LONGDEN OAKES
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Methodist Minister. Formerly missionary in China. Gilchrist Scholar in Chinese. For many years a student of von Hügel's Religious Philosophy. Contributions to this and other journals.

N. CARR SARGANT
B.A.

Methodist missionary in Mysore since 1931. Author of *The Dispersion of the Tamil Church*. Elected as bishop of Mysore in 1951.

C. RYDER SMITH
B.A., D.D.

Principal, Richmond College, 1929-40. Professor in Theology, London University, 1932-40. President, Wesleyan Methodist Church, 1931. Author of many theological books.

NEW BOOKS

GERMAN PROTESTANTISM SINCE LUTHER

By Dr. A. L. Drummond, B.D.

Demy 8vo. 22s. 6d. net

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